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BARLOW'S CONTINUATION TO HUME'S ENGLAND.



PRINCESS OF WALES.

THE
History of England,
FROM
THE YEAR 1765, TO THE YEAR 1795.

C H A P. XXII.

State of affairs in the beginning of the year 1787. The meeting of parliament—The commercial treaty with France taken into consideration—Mr. Pitt's plan for consolidating the customs—Bill for farming the post-horse duty—Motion for the repeal of the shop-tax—Mr. Beaufoy's motion for repealing the test act—Payment of the Prince of Wales's debts—The charges against Mr. Hastings discussed—The commons impeach Mr. Hastings at the bar of the house of peers—Session of parliament ends—Lord George Gordon tried for two libels—Disturbances in Holland—Particulars respecting the arrest of the Princess of Orange—The King of Prussia reduces the refractory Dutch to order—The Stadtholder restored—Discontents in the Austrian Netherlands—Rise and progress of the French revolution—Convention between the courts of London and Versailles for mutual disarming—Transactions in France till the destruction of the Bastile.

[A. D. 1787.]

EXCEPT the momentary alarm, occasioned by the danger to which the person of the sovereign was exposed from the attempt of a miserable lunatic, as related in our last chapter, Great Britain continued to
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enjoy an undisturbed tranquillity and repose during the long recess with which the members of parliament were this year indulged. The treaty of commerce and navigation already mentioned, between England and France, was signed at Versailles by Mr. Eden, on the 29th of September, on the part of Great Britain.

The state of political parties remained also without any considerable variation. The right honourable Charles Jenkinson was advanced to the dignity of a peer of Great Britain, and made chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and president of the board of trade, and, though not admitted in form to a seat in his majesty's cabinet council, was supposed to be confidentially consulted upon all affairs of importance; Earl Gower was made marquis of Stafford, and Lord Camden an earl.

The year 1787 (the transactions of which we are about to relate) was productive of events very important to Europe in general, in some of which the interests of this nation were deeply concerned in particular. The revolution which took place in Holland, the restoration of the stadtholder to his rights, and the recovery of that republic to its ancient system of policy, by detaching it from the new connexions it had formed with France, were regarded as transactions which greatly aided Great Britain in effectually restoring her to that high eminence among the neighbouring nations, from which she had suffered no small derogation through the loss of her colonies, and other ill consequences of the American war.

But however important these objects might be, they could not in any degree rank, with respect to magnitude and general consideration, with those new prospects which opened upon mankind in the course of that year. A singular revolution appeared to take place in the minds of men, and the spirit of liberty revived with great energy in countries where it had long been deemed nearly extinct: It produced such effects in France, and indicated others so much greater, as to render that country the grand theatre of political speculation. But even these effects were only the intestine rumblings

ramblings of a tremendous political earthquake which soon afterwards burst forth, overthrew the temples of despotism, and shook monarchs on their thrones who had swayed their sceptres with the most gentle arm.

When the parliament of Great Britain re-assembled on the 23d of January, the first object of debate which presented itself was the commercial treaty with France. The house resolved itself into a committee on this subject on the 12th of February, when Mr. Pitt entered into an elaborate vindication of the measure, though, in the opinion of impartial persons, the treaty sufficiently spoke its own merits. He exposed in strong and happy terms the false and pernicious notion of any one nation being the natural enemy of another. It had no foundation, he said, in experience; it was a libel on the constitution of political societies; and supposed the existence of a diabolical malice in our original frame. He was equally happy in displaying the advantageous nature of the new treaty in a commercial view. He allowed it would be a benefit to the French commerce; but did not hesitate to declare it as his opinion, in the eyes of France and during the pendency of the business, that it would be more so to us. She gained for her wines and natural productions a great and opulent market of eight millions of people, but we gained a market of twenty-four millions of people for our manufactures, which employed our countrymen, advanced our maritime strength, and contributed largely to the state. France could not gain the accession of one hundred thousand pounds to her revenue; England must necessarily gain a million. To avoid a fruitless prolixity by entering minutely on the debates which took place on this occasion, let it suffice to add that Mr. Burke opposed the measure with irrational violence and illiberality. He regarded the treaty in question not merely in a commercial view, but as closely connected with the political interests of the country. Mr. Pitt, he added, with that narrowness which leads men of little minds to look at great objects in a confined point of view, spoke of the transaction as if it was the affairs of two little

oompting-houses, and not of two great nations. He regarded it as a contest between the sign of the fleur-de-lis, and the sign of the red lion, which house should obtain the most custom. Mr. Wilberforce rebuked the desultory harangue of Mr. Burke with great severity and effect. Such, however, was the impression made upon the house by the arguments advanced by the opposers of the treaty, that 162 members divided against the minister, on a motion for an address to his majesty, declaratory of the approbation of the house, which was finally carried by a majority of 76 voices.

Early in the present session Mr. Pitt brought forward another very useful commercial measure, founded on the reports of the commissioners of public accounts, for the purpose of consolidating the customs, by the total abolition of all the existing confused and complex duties, and substituting in their stead a single duty on each article, amounting very nearly to the aggregate of the various subsidies previously paid; taking universally, instead of a fraction, the nearest integral number above it. By this method, he observed, there would be an increase in the revenue, to the amount of twenty thousand pounds per annum, while the difference would be amply compensated to the merchant, by the ease and convenience with which he would be enabled to transact his business at the custom-house. Mr. Pitt, at the same time, proposed to lower the duties on foreign spirits, with a view of completely annihilating the smuggling trade, which he said amounted to four millions of gallons yearly, while that which was legally imported and paid duty, did not exceed six or seven hundred thousand. The whole of the plan obtained the sanction of a very large majority of both houses.

The chancellor of the exchequer, from the various frauds committed in the collection of the duty upon post horses, proposed the forming of that duty. This was opposed on the ground that it was immediately contradictory to the principles of the constitution; that it was the mode adopted by the odious and despotic government of France, where the farmers general acquired great fortunes,

tunes, by the most shameful oppression exercised over the people; and it was further urged, that the abuses complained of by the minister did not exist. The bill, however, was introduced and passed by a considerable majority.

On the 24th of April, Mr. Fox moved for the repeal of the tax which had been imposed upon retail shops in the year 1785, which had excited great complaints, and a very vigorous and persevering opposition throughout the nation. He showed that the tax fell partially upon a sober and industrious class of citizens, and could not be thrown upon the consumer, as Mr. Pitt absurdly supposed. Mr. Lambton (a young man who had just taken his seat for the city of Durham) seconded the motion of Mr. Fox in an admirable strain of eloquence and argument, which drew from the chancellor of the exchequer himself, expressions of applause and admiration. Mr. Fox placed the partiality of the tax in the most glaring point of view: The whole sum assessed for the shop-tax amounted to 59,000*l.* of which the cities of London and Westminster, and the adjacent parishes, paid 43,000*l.* whereas in some parts of the kingdom not above 100*l.* was assessed for a whole county, and not above fifty for a few. Mr. Pitt, however, declared, that his mind was not yet satisfied as to the pernicious operation of the tax, and the motion was lost by a majority of 183 against 147.

The tranquillity of the nation, the obligations which Mr. Pitt was under to the dissenters, and the ardent solicitations of the deputies of the dissenting congregations in and about London, induced Mr. Beaufoy, member for Great Yarmouth, a dissenter, held in great esteem by all parties, to attempt a repeal of the corporation and test acts. On the 28th of March, he made a motion in the house of commons for that purpose; in his introductory speech he gave a clear and judicious account of the origin of those acts. His general arguments, and those of Mr. Fox, who ably supported the motion were, that the test act was not originally intended to operate against the protestant dissenters, but to prevent the per-

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nicious intrigues and influence of the popish party; that the dissenters had deserved well of the nation, and particularly of his majesty's family, of whom, from the revolution, they had been the most zealous supporters; that every man having an undoubted right to judge for himself in matters of religion, he ought not, on account of the exercise of that right, to incur any punishment, or be branded with any mark of infamy; and that the exclusion from military service and civil trusts, was both a punishment and an opprobrious distinction. The corporation act, which passed in the year 1661, declared, that no person should be elected into any municipal office who should not one year before his election have taken the sacrament, according to the usage of the church of England. This act was levelled indiscriminately against protestant and catholic dissenters; but in the year 1673, the æra of the test act, the face of things was materially changed. The jealousy of parliament, in regard to the protestant dissenters had now subsided, and the alarm of all the different denominations of protestants was equally excited by the danger to which protestantism itself was exposed, by the flagrant attempts of the court to effect the restoration of the popish religion: The king himself was believed, on good ground, to be a concealed papist. In this state of the nation the test act was passed as a measure of general policy and safety. It was intitled "An act for preventing the danger which may happen from popish recusants;" and the dissenters, far from concurring in the opposition made by the court to this bill, publicly declared through the medium of Mr. Alderman Love, one of the members of the city of London, and himself a dissenter, "that in a time of public danger they would in nowise impede the progress of a measure, deemed essential to the safety of the kingdom, and would trust to the justice of parliament, that a future provision should be made for their relief." On this motion the examples of Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Russia, Prussia, and all the dominions of the emperor were cited, against the system of annexing civil disqualifications to religious opinions. In discuss-
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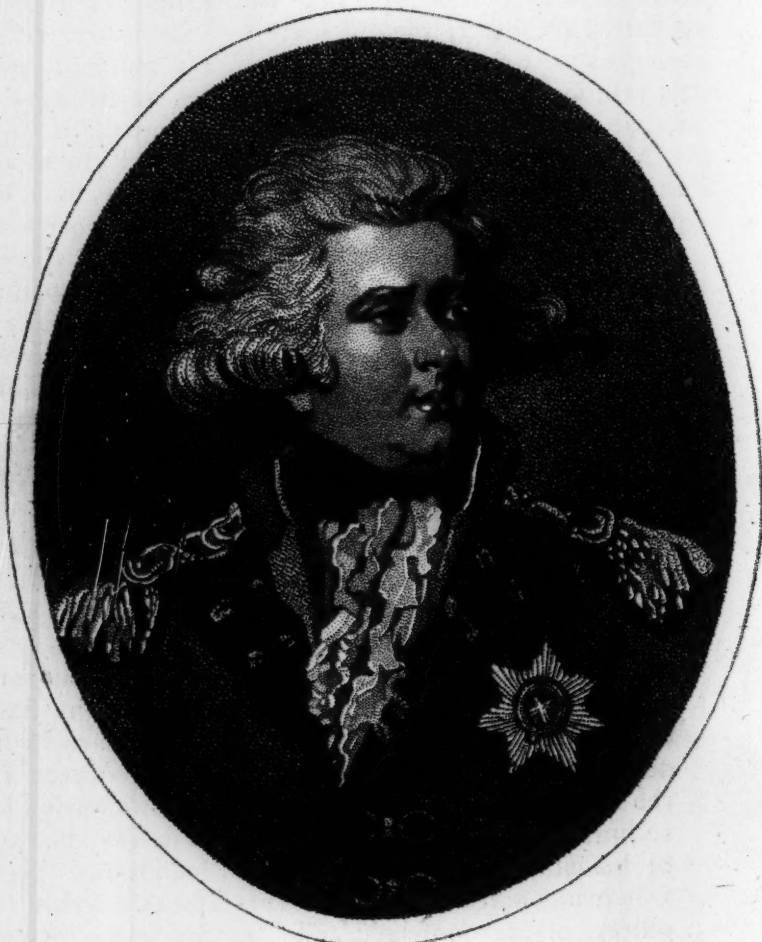
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GEORGE,
Prince of Wales.

ing the general policy of the corporation and test acts, Mr. Beaufoy observed, "that to the higher trust of legislative authority, the dissenters were admitted without reserve." From the members of the house of peers, no religious test was required. Hence he strongly inferred the absurdity of the imposition in question.

Mr. Pitt and Lord North urged against the motion, that the acts in question were meant to include both papist and protestant dissenters; and that the corporation act in particular, was professedly made against the sectaries and not against the papists, though it eventually included both. They denied that refusing to take the sacrament, according to the usage of the church of England, was attended with any punishment or mark of disgrace. They contented that the true question was, Whether there was any substantial interest which made it necessary that one part of the community should be deprived of a participation of its civil offices? The interest of the established church was an interest of this nature, which might be endangered by the repeal proposed. At length Mr. Beaufoy's motion was negatived by a majority of seventy-eight.

The attention of the house of commons and of the nation, was soon afterwards transferred to the state of the prince of Wales's finances. When his royal highness attained the age of twenty-one, in the year 1783, the sum of fifty-thousand pounds per annum was allotted to him out of the civil list revenue to defray the expense of his establishment. It was soon found that this sum was inadequate to the numerous salaries payable to the officers of his household and other expenses incident to the irregularities of his youth, and the company with whom he generally associated. The ministers at that time, Mr. Fox and Lord North, strongly insisted upon the necessity of fixing the revenue of the prince at one hundred thousand pounds, which the late king had enjoyed as prince of Wales, at a period when the civil list produced two hundred thousand pounds per annum less than at present: The sovereign positively objected to this; the prince acquiesced, and declared that he chose



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to depend upon the spontaneous bounty of the king. It appeared that in the year 1786, the prince had contracted debts to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds and upwards, exclusive of fifty thousand pounds expended upon Carleton-house. In this embarrassed state, his first application was to his royal father; but a direct refusal to afford him any relief was conveyed to his royal highness through one of his principal officers of state. It is reported that the duke of Orleans, who was at this time on a visit to England, pressed him in the strongest manner to make use of his fortune to whatever extent he pleased, till some favourable change should take place in his circumstances; but the prince declined this offer.

In this state of his affairs the prince adopted a resolution which indicated great firmness and vigour of mind. Suppressing the establishment of his household, he formally vested forty thousand pounds per annum of his revenue in the hands of trustees for the liquidation of his debts. His stud of running horses, his hunters, and even his coach horses, were sold by public auction.

When things had remained in this state for near a twelvemonth, the prince was persuaded to give his assent to a proposal for laying the state of his affairs before parliament; and on the 20th of April 1787, Mr. Alderman Newnham, member for the city of London, gave notice that he would bring forward a motion for an address to the king, praying him to grant the prince such relief as he in his wisdom should think fit, and pledging the house to make good the same.

Upon this occasion the minister observed, that as he had not his majesty's special command to enter upon this subject, he wished the worthy alderman to withdraw his motion for the present, which was accordingly done. But Mr. Newnham gave notice that he intended to bring the subject forward again by motion on the 4th of May. On the 24th of April, Mr. Pitt, after requesting that Mr. Newnham would inform the house more particularly of the nature of the intended motion, adverted to the extreme delicacy of the subject, and declared

clared that the knowledge he possessed of many circumstances relating to it, made him desirous of persuading the house to avoid, if possible, the discussion. Mr. Rolle, an adherent of the minister, declared at the same time, "that the question involved matter, by which the constitution, both in church and state, might be essentially affected; and that if the friends of the prince persisted in their intention, it would be necessary to inquire into those circumstances also."

The circumstances adverted to by Mr. Rolle, have been said to relate to some supposed connexion between the prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert, a lady of a respectable Roman catholic family, to whom he had for some time manifested a strong attachment. The public had imbibed a notion that they had been privately married; and though the marriage, in whatever mode it might have been solemnized, could not by the royal marriage act be regarded as legal, he was placed in a singular and critical situation, especially as that marriage act itself was by many persons considered as founded in such manifold absurdity and injustice, as to be in its own nature null and void.

After several desultory conversations had ensued at different times in the house upon the subject, Mr. Fox, on the 30th of April, came down to the house with immediate authority from the prince of Wales, to assure them that there was no part of his conduct that he was afraid or unwilling to have investigated in the fullest manner. The firmness of the prince's friends on this occasion, appears to have gained him an entire victory over the ministry; for, on the 3d of May, Mr. Pitt had an audience at Carleton house, and the same night the prince was informed by his majesty's command, in general terms, "that if the motion intended to be made the next day in the house of commons should be withdrawn, every thing might be settled to his royal highness's satisfaction."

The motion was accordingly withdrawn, and on the 23d of May, in consequence of a message from his majesty, the sum of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds

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was voted for the relief of the prince of Wales, and twenty thousand pounds on account of the works at Carleton-house.

The total supplies for this year amounted to twelve millions four hundred and fourteen thousand, five hundred and seventy-nine pounds; and the state of the finances was such that no additional burdens were necessary.

The subject of Mr. Hastings' impeachment had been resumed early in the present session, and had occupied a large portion of it. The conduct of Mr. Pitt had been hitherto indecisive and mysterious; but the part taken by Mr. Jenkinson, and the party of which he was considered as the head, left no room for doubt as to the secret inclination of the court. The 1st and 2d day of February were spent in examining Mr. Middleton and sir Elijah Impey; and on Wednesday the 7th, Mr. Sheridan opened the third charge against Mr. Hastings; the resumption of the jaghires, and the confiscation of the treasures of the princesses of Oude, the mother and grandmother of the reigning nabob.

The subject of this charge was peculiarly fitted for displaying all the pathetic powers of eloquence; and never were they displayed with greater skill, force, and elegance, than upon this occasion. For five hours and an half, Mr. Sheridan kept the attention of the house (which from the expectation of the day was uncommonly crowded) fascinated by his eloquence; and when he sat down, the whole house, the members, peers, and strangers, involuntarily joined in a tumult of applause, and adopted a mode of expressing their approbation, new and irregular in that house, by loudly and repeatedly clapping with their hands. Mr. Burke declared it to be the most astonishing effort of eloquence, argument, and wit united, of which there is any record or tradition. Mr. Fox said, "All that he had ever heard, all that he had ever read, when compared with it, dwindled into nothing, and vanished like vapour before the sun." Mr. Pitt acknowledged, that it surpassed all the eloquence of ancient or modern times, and possessed every thing that genius or art could furnish to

agitate and control the human mind. The effects it produced were proportioned to its merits: after a considerable suspension of the debate, one of the friends of Mr. Hastings with some difficulty obtained, for a short time, a hearing; but finding the house too strongly affected by what they had heard, to listen to him with favour, sat down again. Several members confessed, that they had come down strongly prepossessed in favour of the person accused, and imagined nothing less than a miracle could have wrought so entire a revolution in their sentiments. Others declared, that though they could not resist the conviction that flashed upon their minds, yet they wished to have time to cool before they were called upon to vote; and though they were persuaded that it would require another miracle to produce another change in their opinions, yet for the sake of decorum, they thought it proper that the debate should be adjourned. Mr. Fox and Mr. M. A. Taylor strongly opposed this proposition, contending that it was not less absurd than unparliamentary to defer coming to a vote for no other reason than that had been alleged—because the members were too firmly convinced; but Mr. Pitt falling in with the opinions of the former, the debate was adjourned a little after one o'clock.

The day following, the debate was resumed by Mr. Francis, in support of the charge; and by Mr. Burges, Major Scott, Mr. Nicholls, Mr. Vansittart, and Mr. Alderman Le Mesurier, in defence of Mr. Hastings. After having heard the arguments on both sides, Mr. Pitt rose to deliver his sentiments. He began with declaring, that he had from the first day of the charges being agitated within those walls, considered the matter as of a most serious and important nature, in which the honour and character of that house, and the honour and character of the individual accused, were both deeply involved. It therefore behoved the committee to deliberate with the greatest temper, and not to decide in any one stage of the business without having previously made the fullest investigation of every fact stated in each particular charge, and a careful comparison of the whole
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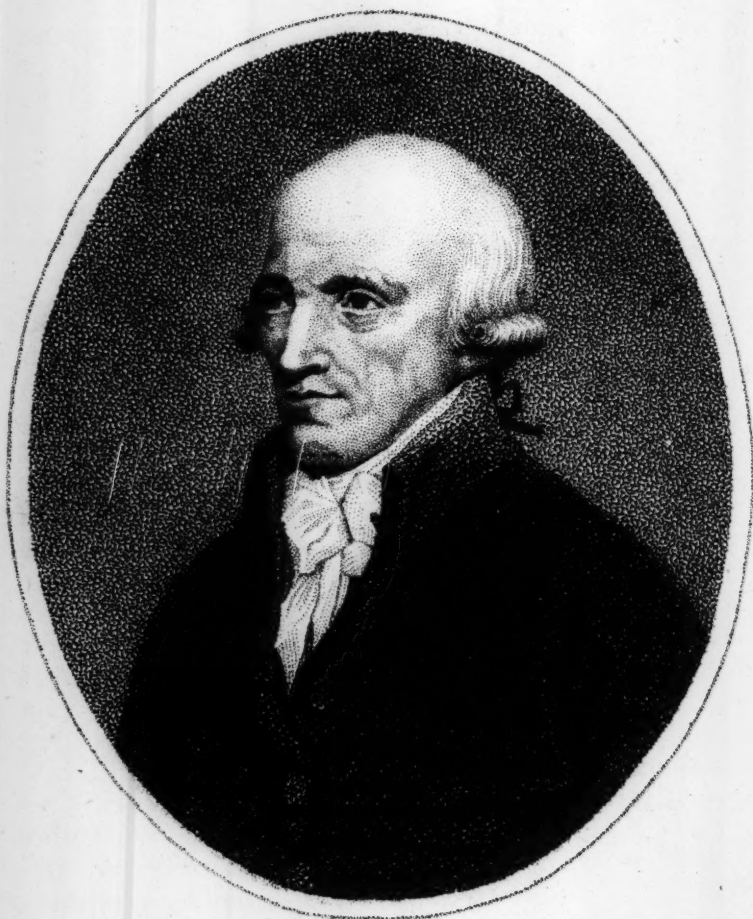
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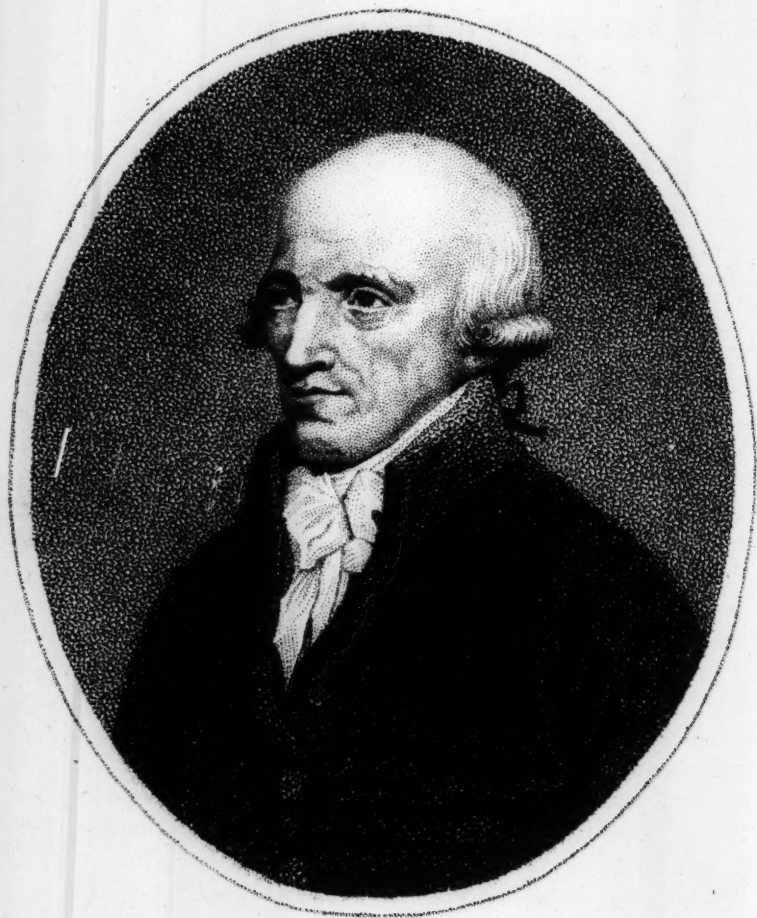


GOVERNOR HASTINGS.

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On the 19th, Mr. Burke begged leave to call the attention of the house to the present state of the accusation of Mr. Hastings, which was attended with many awkward circumstances, owing, as he conceived, to their having originally departed from the usual course of proceeding in matters of that nature. The deliberate caution, with which they had hitherto proceeded, would however be attended with some advantages in their future proceedings towards obtaining judgment; but he thought, that having now solemnly declared upon two charges of high and atrocious delinquency, that they contained fit grounds of impeachment, the sooner they resorted to the ancient mode of proceeding, by a vote of impeachment, the better. The proper steps might then be taken for preventing the party impeached from quitting the kingdom, removing his property, alienating any sums of money, or taking any other steps to evade the ends of justice. There was one circumstance, he should mention, that pointed out this, or some other proceeding of that sort, as absolutely necessary, viz. that it was confidently reported, that another gentleman from India, strongly implicated in the transactions of Mr. Hastings, and against whom proceedings of a serious nature would soon be instituted, had, within a short time, sold out of the public funds property to the amount of 50,000*l*. Major Scott, misapprehending that it was intended to insinuate that this property belonged to Mr. Hastings, got up to assure the house that he had no concern in it; and to declare upon his honour, that

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GOVERNOR HASTINGS.

aggravated by making the nabob the instrument,--the son the instrument of robbing the mother. The crime of Mr. Hastings he thought still farther aggravated, by his stifling the orders of the court of directors, which expressly commanded a revision of the proceedings against those princesses. With respect to many other collateral circumstances, urged in aggravation of the charge, he thought them either not criminal, or not brought home to Mr. Hastings. The question being at length called for, and the house dividing, there appeared for the motion 175, against it 68.

On the 19th, Mr. Burke begged leave to call the attention of the house to the present state of the accusation of Mr. Hastings, which was attended with many awkward circumstances, owing, as he conceived, to their having originally departed from the usual course of proceeding in matters of that nature. The deliberate caution, with which they had hitherto proceeded, would however be attended with some advantages in their future proceedings towards obtaining judgment; but he thought, that having now solemnly declared upon two charges of high and atrocious delinquency, that they contained fit grounds of impeachment, the sooner they resorted to the ancient mode of proceeding, by a vote of impeachment, the better. The proper steps might then be taken for preventing the party impeached from quitting the kingdom, removing his property, alienating any sums of money, or taking any other steps to evade the ends of justice. There was one circumstance, he should mention, that pointed out this, or some other proceeding of that sort, as absolutely necessary, viz. that it was confidently reported, that another gentleman from India, strongly implicated in the transactions of Mr. Hastings, and against whom proceedings of a serious nature would soon be instituted, had, within a short time, sold out of the public funds property to the amount of 50,000*l*. Major Scott, misapprehending that it was intended to insinuate that this property belonged to Mr. Hastings, got up to assure the house that he had no concern in it; and to declare upon his honour, that

from the information he possessed relative to the affairs of Mr. Hastings, he could take upon him to assert that his whole fortune did not exceed 50,000*l*. Mr. Pitt defended the mode of proceeding adopted by the house, and did not conceive that they could with propriety resort to any other.

The day following, the house being in a committee on the charges, Mr. Dundas rose and said, that as notice had been given that a charge of a serious nature would be brought forward against sir Elijah Impey, he would suggest to those concerned in the prosecution, that it would be inconsistent with the justice, the candour, and the benevolence of that house, to call and examine a gentleman as a witness at their bar, and then to make his evidence the ground of future crimination against him.

Sir Gilbert Elliott said, that though he had determined, from a review of his general conduct, to move for an impeachment against sir Elijah Impey, yet the house could not think of waving the advantage of any information it could possibly obtain. The subject of the present examination, however, did not come, as far as he knew at present, within the limits of his intended charge, although the latter went to affect nearly the whole of sir Elijah's conduct, as he looked on him, by his extra-official interference, to have had a share in some of the most guilty transactions that had taken place in India.

Mr. Burke observed, that it was impossible for those who had brought forward the prosecution of Mr. Hastings, to think of losing the advantage of that person's testimony, who had been the intimate confidant of the principal culprit. Sir Elijah Impey knew undoubtedly too much of law to answer any questions which might tend to criminate himself; and those who were to examine him would never insist on his answering questions of such a tendency.

Mr. Pitt agreed in the opinion, that to suppress the testimony of such a person would be to disarm the hand of justice; yet he thought, that delicacy and propriety demanded,

demand, that the witness should have such notice of the intended charge, as might tend to put him on his guard. Mr. Burke immediately assented to this proposition, and accordingly offered a motion to the following effect, which was put and carried: "That Sir Elijah Impey be called in, and that the chairman be instructed to inform him, that it was possible that a criminal inquiry may be instituted against himself, on the ground of extra-official interference, and his general conduct in India; and that the subject on which he was then to be examined, may lead to proceedings connected with such an inquiry."

Sir Elijah was then called in, and on receiving this notice from the chairman, said, "That as he was conscious of no guilt, and as there was no part of his conduct which he would wish to secrete, this notice would make no difference in his wishes to give the committee the fullest information."

He then underwent a long examination respecting the transactions with the nabob of Farruckabad.

On the 2d of March, Mr. T. Pelham opened the fourth charge, the subject of which was the corrupt and oppressive conduct of Mr. Hastings towards the nabob of Farruckabad. After Mr. Pelham had gone through the charge, and major Scott had been heard in reply, Mr. Dundas rose and said, there were two points necessary to be cleared up, before he could bring himself to vote for Mr. Hastings on the present question. The first related to the breach of the treaty of Chunar. This treaty he confessed that he never liked, and always regretted its having been made; his prejudice therefore against the treaty might naturally operate in reconciling him to the breach of it, provided it could be plausibly defended. It was not impossible but there might have been some desirable object in view in the making of the treaty, which might justify that measure, notwithstanding it was evident that a necessity would occur of breaking it. If this was the case, he should then admit that it was a *bad* way of doing a *good* thing, and be induced to excuse it, particularly if the same good end could

not have been obtained by more direct means. But what this desirable object was, and how it happened to be only attainable by such indirect, circuitous, and objectionable means, he expected to have fully explained before he could bring himself to look upon the transaction as innocent or excusable; and as yet he had never heard any such explanation attempted. He should also expect to hear of some actual necessity having existed for the recal of Mr. Shee, seeing that Mr. Hastings knew, and expressly acknowledges, that by such recal either the nabob of Farruckabad must be sacrificed to the nabob vizir, or else be abandoned to the dangerous and destructive management of his own family and servants. Unless he should receive a full answer to those two points, he should certainly feel himself indispensably bound to vote for the motion, provided it was persisted in; yet he could not but give a caution to the gentleman who had brought forward the charge, to reflect whether it would be worth while to prosecute it to the other house, as it appeared not likely, if substantiated, to add much to Mr. Hastings's criminality or punishment, and would require a vast volume of evidence to prove it. This he only submitted to his discretion, for if the question were to be put, he must vote for it, unless he should receive complete satisfaction on the two points he had already stated.

The cause of Mr. Hastings met this day, with support from a new quarter, which, if it had been brought forward before the examination into his conduct had proceeded so far, might perhaps have proved more effectual. As it was, it served only to draw from Mr. Pitt declarations, which left Mr. Hastings no other hope than that of an acquittal in Westminster-hall.

Lord Hood, in a solemn manner, called the serious attention of the house to the consequences of proceeding with too scrupulous a nicety to canvass the conduct of those who had filled stations abroad of high difficulty and important trust. Certain actions, which appeared to those at a distance in a very criminal light, were yet, on a nearer investigation, perfectly justifiable on the grounds

grounds of absolute and indispensable necessity. Should the fear of an impeachment by parliament be hung out to every commander, in whose hands was placed the defence of our national possessions, it must necessarily operate as a dangerous restraint to their exertions, when it was considered that no general or admiral had scarcely ever been fortunate enough to conduct himself in the performance of his duty, without occasionally falling into circumstances, in which the public service compelled him to do things in themselves not pleasing to his feelings, nor strictly legal; but from the indispensable necessities of their situation perfectly justifiable. The example set by the house of commons, in the present instance, would for ever stand before our future commanders, and create a great and dangerous clog to the public service. For his own part, at his time of life he could have no prospect of being again employed in any foreign active command, and therefore he had no personal inducement for the part he should take in giving his negative to any farther progress in this prosecution: But he spoke for those, who were to come after him; his regard for his country made him anxious to prevent a precedent, by which all her services would for the future be greatly impeded; and this he was confident would be the effect of punishing any harsh and severe, but perhaps necessary and indispensable acts of power, which the saviour of India had, for the public good, been found to commit.

Mr. Pitt rose immediately after lord Hood, and said, that he should have been satisfied with giving a silent vote for the question, so evident to his mind were the grounds on which that vote was supported, were it not that he felt himself called upon to give an immediate answer to the arguments used by the noble lord, lest, from the weight of his authority, and more especially on such a subject, they should blind and mislead the judgment of the committee. He admitted, that in the case of every servant of the public, to whom vast and momentous concerns were entrusted, it was but just that when a complaint was made, the grounds of that

complaint ought to be weighed with the situation in which he stood. If he suffered the necessities of his service to carry him no farther than was absolutely necessary, and endeavoured, though it could not be done in its full extent, to reconcile his duty to his country with that he owed to individuals, he had then the double merit of discretion as well as zeal; nay, even if in his exertions for the public, he suffered himself to be carried beyond the line of strict and urgent necessity, provided that it was evident that his intentions were fair and upright, God forbid that he or any man should deny him his due merit, or say that the abundance of his zeal ought not to be allowed to make ample atonement for the error of his judgment. But he asked, Was the conduct of Mr. Hastings; in that part of it now before the house, correspondent to such principles? Was the crime that day alleged against him justified by necessity; or was it of such a size and complexion as any existing necessity could justify? Where a departure was made from justice and right, it was not sufficient to say, that such a step was necessary; it was incumbent on the party to point out and prove the necessity, and the consequences likely to attend a too rigid observance of strict justice and propriety. A comparison might then be formed between the object to be gained, and the sacrifice to be made, and a judgment of censure or approbation founded on the result of such comparison. But in the present instance, no state necessity whatsoever was attempted to be shown, and therefore there was no ground whatsoever for those who saw a criminal tendency in the transaction to refuse their consent to the motion.

Besides this topic of the necessities of his situation, the noble lord had resorted to another in favour of Mr. Hastings, namely, his general merits in the course of his service. There had been a period, he confessed, in which such an argument might have been urged with some force, but that period was now past. The committee was then called upon to determine, not upon a general view of facts, the general merits or demerits of the

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the person accused; but, upon a particular investigation of a particular transaction, the criminality or innocence of that single transaction.

With respect to the particular charge then under discussion, it was not necessary for him to say much. He begged leave to refer the committee to that part of Mr. Hastings's correspondence, where, in speaking of the recall of Mr. Shee from Farruckabad, Mr. Hastings acknowledged, "that by so doing he must give up nabob Muzuffer Jung to the oppression of the vizir," so that he could not justify himself for such a step by any plea of wanting sufficient warning of the consequence, having evidently foreseen it; nor had there been any grounds of necessity alleged to palliate the measure. But besides thus letting loose the vizir on the nabob of Farruckabad, the consequence of which he knew would be the ruin and oppression of that unfortunate prince, and that this was done without any necessity, what could excuse his accepting of a present of such magnitude as that, which he had received from the nabob of Oude? Could such a transaction be excused by any degree of necessity? Was there a fleet in want of her necessary supplies? was there any army waiting for subsistence? or did any one branch whatsoever of the public service render so extraordinary a resource requisite? No; it was justified by no necessity: It could therefore be accounted for by nothing but corruption. But he had chiefly risen, he said, to interpose as speedily as possible between the high authority of the noble lord and the feelings of the house, lest they might be led by his arguments to confound the two cases;---that of a man struggling against a violent necessity, and at length obliged to give way to the exigency of the public service, and to deviate into a necessary injustice; and that of a person wantonly committing acts of tyranny and oppression, for which not even a pretence of public service had been alleged.

The committee divided upon this question; ayes 112, noes 50.

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On the 7th of March, Mr. Burke rose to beg the attention of the house to the many difficulties, with which the gentlemen, who had to furnish the house with the evidence necessary for substantiating the charges against Mr. Hastings, had to labour. It was well known, that the servants of the company were under an obligation to send over copies of their proceedings, minutes, and correspondence, to the court of directors at home. This was undoubtedly a necessary and wise precaution; but in the case of Mr. Hastings, the most glaring instances of disobedience of this rule had occurred. Whenever the late governor general thought proper, he mutilated, garbled, or suppressed, his correspondence; and one of the great difficulties of carrying on the prosecution against that gentleman arose from this circumstance—a circumstance involving in itself a charge of very considerable weight and importance. Another difficulty originated from their ignorance of the titles of the papers they wished to call for. Mr. Burke, instancing the late charge, said, that he had called for the Farruckabad papers, and he thought that all of them had been presented; but a very respectable member of that house had afterwards called for others under another name; and had by those means furnished the house with the Persian correspondence, which proved to be very material. He next observed, that the attorney of Mr. Hastings was the attorney of the East-India company, in defence of whose rights, and for the punishment of whose servants, that house was now carrying on a prosecution! He begged leave to point out the manifest advantage which this circumstance gave Mr. Hastings over the house, for while they were groping in the dark, and guessing at what papers they ought to call for, Mr. Hastings's attorney, who had daily access to all the company's papers, might lay his hand on any of them, and come to the bar of the house of lords, and there produce some paper or other, to overturn the whole of the evidence which they had been able to come at, and assist Mr. Hastings to laugh at the prosecution. It appeared,

peared, that a correspondence was kept back which would show the remonstrances of the nabob of Oude against many of those measures which were alleged to be taken at his express suggestion; and what was more, there was also a suppression of the whole of the Persian correspondence, which, with respect to this point, was undoubtedly very material. As a proof of the very incorrect and suspicious manner in which these papers were disposed of, Mr. Burke instanced the circumstance of many of them being in the possession of the chief justice, sir Elijah Impey, instead of Mr. Middleton, the resident, to whose department they most properly belonged. The house then would perceive the many inconveniences, under which the gentlemen laboured, who were engaged in the prosecution. Mr. Burke submitted these matters to the consideration of the house, and concluded with moving for a great variety of papers, which were granted.

On the 15th of March, the charge relative to contracts and salaries was opened by Sir James Erskine. Mr. Pitt immediately followed, declaring that he rose so early in the debate for the purpose of bringing the question within a narrower compass, and of consequently shortening the debate. The charge, he said, might be divided into three distinct parts; the first relating to the extravagant terms of the contracts, and the violation of the company's orders in making them; the second, to the increased salary to Sir Eyre Coote; and the third, to the unwarrantable excess of the civil expenditure during his administration.

With regard to the contracts, he thought some of them too insignificant to be intitled to any discussion whatever in parliament, with a view to impeachment; and others were so circumstanced in point of time, as to be extremely unfit to be made a ground of criminal charge against Mr. Hastings. Out of these therefore he should only except two, the contract for bullocks in the year 1779, and the opium contract in 1781; in both of which there appeared evident circumstances of criminality, and strong ground for suspicion of corruption.

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The second article appeared to him of more prominent magnitude than any other part of the charge, viz. the increased salary given to Sir Eyre Coote, in avowed and unqualified disobedience of the company's orders, and the imposing the payment of that additional salary on a prince closely connected with the company, and who already paid to the Bengal government a fixed and stipulated tribute, which, he said, was a gross and manifest violation of the faith of the company, and a perversion of the power entrusted to him by his office. His continuing this salary in an underhand and covert manner, after a particular prohibition from the directors, was a shameful and disgraceful evasion of his duty, and one which highly merited the censure of parliament; and that part of the charge should consequently have his most hearty concurrence.

As to the third branch of the charge, that relating to a corrupt profusion in the civil expenditure, it was a subject, which he should by no means consent to make any part of a criminal charge, because it did not appear substantiated upon grounds sufficiently strong to warrant the house to include it in a matter of impeachment.

This led him to suggest a few considerations to those gentlemen who had taken the lead in the prosecution. After what had already passed, he believed there was no one who had any regard to the dignity of parliament, or to the ends of public and substantial justice, that could have any wish but to forward it as much as possible, and to bring it before the other house, in the most unquestionable shape. But he conceived that it was by no means the best way to the end they had in view to clog it with useless, unnecessary, and impracticable matter. To strip it of all such was the most adviseable thing for the house to endeavour; and he wished the right honourable gentleman who had taken so active a part in the business, would, on some early day, ascertain and determine on such charges as he intended to bring forward; as there were many of those already before the house, that he was certain could never be made out in proof, or if they could,
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were not of sufficient criminality to excuse and warrant the present mode of proceeding. For the several reasons therefore which he had given in the course of his speech, he said, he should propose an amendment to the present motion, which, if it should be adopted by the house, would leave him at liberty to vote for the general question. His amendment was, to add the following words to the motion: "In respect to the contract for bullocks in the year 1779; that for opium in the year 1781; and to the increased salary of Sir Eyre Coote."

Mr. Burke rose, and declared, that he considered the proposition made by the right honourable gentleman, as a proposition founded in amity and friendship; that for his part he should be exceedingly happy to be able to state what other of the charges he should think it necessary to go into, as containing criminal facts too serious and important to be dispensed with, or passed over; that in truth he thought every one of the charges did contain matter of that description, and the great difficulty was, to determine what could be best spared. He resembled, in his present situation, a shipmaster, who, in order to lighten his vessel, was under the necessity of throwing some of the cargo overboard. But what articles he was to commit to the waves, he was perfectly at a loss to determine. Nay, he was afraid to enter on this office; lest gentlemen should afterwards tell him—"You, indeed, at first furnished yourself with an excellent cargo; many of your articles were of the very best quality; but whilst you have retained trifles, you have consigned those, which were of the greatest value, to the waves."

Mr. Burke then adverted to the amendment moved by Mr. Pitt, which, he said, he conceived himself indispensably bound to endeavour to re-amend, by inserting several other material parts of the charge. The committee divided, first upon Mr. Burke's amendment, which was carried by a majority of nine; and then upon the main question, which was carried by a majority of 34.

On the 22d of March, after a warm altercation between Mr. Francis and Mr. Pitt, relative to the production of some improper and irrelative evidence before

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the committee by the former, Mr. Wyndham opened the sixth charge respecting Fyzoola Khan, the Rajah of Rampore. Major Scott followed Mr. Wyndham; after which Mr. Dundas rose, and stated the principal point, in which he thought the conduct of Mr. Hastings criminal, viz. the violation of the guarantee of the company to the treaty of 1774. To that treaty he conceived Fyzoola Khan had every right to consider the company as a guarantee, in consequence of colonel Champion's signing his name as an attestation of it, and of the subsequent public authorised attestation of it at Rampore. By the treaty of Chunar, in 1781, that guarantee was violated, and the British name brought into disgrace, as by an article of that treaty Fyzoola Khan was declared to have forfeited the protection of the British government, and permission was granted to the nabob vizir to resume his lands. That that permission was never intended to be suffered by Mr. Hastings to be carried into execution, Mr. Dundas declared he verily believed; and in that circumstance consisted, in his mind, a great part of Mr. Hastings's criminality; as he thereby made use of the credit of the British name to delude the nabob vizir, and at the same time to hold out to Fyzoola Khan an idea that the British government, which was the guarantee to him for the quiet possession of Rampore, Shawabad, and some other districts, had stipulated by treaty to assist the nabob vizir in dispossessing him of those territories. He commented on the extreme criminality of this conduct; but as it certainly differed materially from the construction that might be put on the charge, viz. that it had been the intention of Mr. Hastings really to assist in dispossessing Fyzoola Khan of his territories, he could not agree to the motion, unless it was modified and tempered, so as to restrict it to the points in which the matter of impeachment, in his opinion, really consisted. The better to convey his meaning to the committee, Mr. Dundas said, he would produce the amendment he had designed to offer to the motion: It was, in substance, to state, that in the charge there was matter

of impeachment, as far as related to that part of the treaty of Chunar which went to a breach of the guarantee of the treaty of Rampore. Mr. Dundas said, he did not mean to press his amendment, if it should appear to be disagreeable to gentlemen on the other side. He was aware he should have another opportunity of stating it, and enforcing its reception, when the question of impeachment came to be agitated.

Mr. Burke observed, in reply to Mr. Dundas, that he believed, upon a more attentive consideration of the charge, the learned member would find, that in the charge preferred by him there was not a syllable amounting to an insinuation, much less a direct charge, that it had been Mr. Hastings's real intention to assist in dispossessing Fyzoola Khan of his jaghire; and the reason was, because he had neither direct legal, nor sufficiently strong presumptive evidence to support such an insinuation. The great charge against Mr. Hastings in this case was, that he had kept Fyzoola Khan in a fever for ten years together, in which that father of agriculture (for so Mr. Hastings calls him) was put into a perpetual series of hot and cold fits, not knowing whether he was to look up to the British government in India as his protectors or oppressors. The committee divided; for the question 96, against it 37.

Upon the 7th of April, previous to the bringing up of the report, Mr. Sheridan opened the seventh charge, relative to the corrupt receiving of bribes and presents. Major Scott in his defence having, amongst other arguments, urged the favourable reception, which Mr. Hastings, after the supposed commission of all these crimes, had met with on his return home, both from his masters, the directors of the company, and several members of administration, lord Mulgrave rose to reprobate what he termed, this shabby species of defence. There were, he said, many parts of Mr. Hastings's conduct of which he highly approved, and which he always had and ever should applaud; but it was not enough to say, in answer to charges the most serious and important in every point of view, that since Mr. Hastings's

tings's return the directors had commended his conduct ; that they had entertained him at a dinner, and that some members of the Indian government had dined in the same room. Lord Mulgrave then observed, that he could with greater confidence speak his sentiments on the subject of the present charge than, on any which had preceded it. On the charge of contracts, as on some others, it was difficult to draw the line between what might be deemed tolerated patronage, and a corrupt exercise of power : But in the charge under consideration there was no difficulty ; the facts which it contained were not involved in doubt, nor perplexed with being subject to a variety of interpretations. He then proceeded to show that Mr. Hastings was fully and perfectly acquainted with the meaning and extent of the act for preventing the receipt of presents, which he had so daringly violated.

Mr. W. Grenville declared his concurrence with the honourable member who opened the charge in almost every point that he had urged. He added, if in this illegal proceeding Mr. Hastings had exercised speculation and extortion to supply the exigencies of the public service, this, though not a justification of his conduct, would be at least a diminution of his offence. But no such palliation as this appeared in any of the transactions ; and though it was not absolutely proved, that Mr. Hastings had not employed this money for the public service, yet there was very strong ground for such suspicion, from his avoiding to give any explanation of many parts of his conduct, though ordered to do so by the court of directors. Upon a division, there appeared, for the question 165, against it 54.

The house being resumed, the report from the committee was brought up by their chairman, Mr. St. John ; and upon the question " That it be now read a first time," the chancellor of the exchequer observed, that in a business of such consequence as that in which they were engaged, he felt every successive stage become more and more important, and could not therefore repress his anxiety to preserve that degree of formality and regularity

regularity in the proceeding, which should leave him and other members at full liberty to deliver their votes, without hesitation, singly and exclusively, on the merits of the grand decisive question of impeachment, and free from any objections that might be made to the form in which that question should come forward. He therefore wished to know how the right honourable gentleman intended to proceed. For his part, having in some of the articles gone only a certain length in his assent, and by no means admitted a degree of guilt equal to that imputed in the charges, he could not think himself justified in joining in a general vote of impeachment, which might seem to countenance the whole of each several charge,---those parts which he thought really criminal, as well as those which were of an exculpatory nature. The method, which it was most advisable, in his opinion, to pursue, was to refer the charges to a committee, in order to select out of them the criminal matter, and frame it into articles of impeachment; and then, on those articles, when reported to the house, to move the question of impeachment. If, on the contrary, the mode adopted was, to move the impeachment immediately, he should find himself under a necessity of moving, on the report from the committee which had already sat on the charges, several amendments, confining the effects of each charge to that degree of real guilt, which he thought appeared in it.

Mr. Fox declared his opinion to be, that the report should be first taken into consideration, and, if agreed to by the house, that the question of impeachment should immediately follow. This, he said, was most agreeable to the ancient constitutional mode, and best adapted to carry the views of every part of the house into execution. Those gentlemen, who meant to urge the argument of a set off, would have a full opportunity of putting their favourite mode of defence to the test upon the general question; and those who had objections to the extent of the report, might propose their amendments when the specific articles came finally to be agreed to: whereas, if the house appointed a committee to draw the articles of

impeachment before they had resolved to impeach, it would lay that committee under great difficulties, and abridge their discretion, by obliging them to look at the various sentiments and criticisms of different parties in the formation of the articles; and perhaps their task might at last prove fruitless. For the prosecution itself might be lost in the differences that might arise upon the particular form and shape of the articles, or from what was still more to be dreaded and guarded against in a proceeding of that kind, the influence of improper interference, to which that mode was particularly obnoxious. He said, he did not see why the amendments which had been hinted at, need at all prevent their first coming to a general question. Excepting only in one charge, that of contracts, had the right honourable gentleman made any distinction so strong as to preclude him from voting generally with the resolution moved upon each of the charges? If therefore he had not objected, notwithstanding the various distinctions which he had taken upon several matters in those charges, to vote that they contained grounds of impeachment, why could he not consent to impeach, and, in framing the specific articles, take the sense of the committee upon each of his wished-for amendments?

Mr. Pitt answered, that he still continued of opinion, that the mode proposed by him was the most eligible. The peculiarity of the present case arose from this one circumstance, that the friends of the person accused wished, upon the general question of impeachment, to set off his services against his crimes. But how was it possible to form a comparison between the offences and merits of Mr. Hastings, except by first ascertaining the extent of each? The extent of his transgressions then could only be set forth in the final articles of impeachment: For it was the opinion of many members, that the whole of the matter contained in the present articles of charge, even on those which the committee had voted, was not criminal nor sufficiently substantiated; and that a great part of them consisted of facts incapable of proof, or which, if proved, could not be imputed to Mr. Hastings as delinquences.

quencies. What then was the house to do in order to bring the question of comparison between his crimes and his deserts fairly before them, except to separate and analyse the charges, so, as to distinguish the real guilt from that which was unfounded, and then, having a clear view of a certain degree of ascertained guilt, determine how far that guilt would weigh against whatever degree of merit might be alleged and proved in his favour?

Thus, as far as respected the peculiarity of the case, from the intention of arguing by way of set-off in favour of Mr. Hastings, there was the strongest reasons for adopting the method he proposed. But the right honourable gentleman dreaded the establishment of a precedent, which might be attended with bad consequences in future. But how could any danger arise from the present instance? In proceedings of this nature the house ought to govern itself by the circumstances of the particular case; and some existed, which certainly might require the most decisive despatch, and in which it would prove dangerous to delay the great and binding resolution for the impeachment a single moment. If, for example, a minister had been guilty of any act directly repugnant to the constitution, to the rights of parliament, or to the interests of the state, in such a case it would be highly expedient to come to an immediate vote of impeachment, before they allowed time for drawing up the articles; even though by so doing they should sacrifice the proper and regular forms of proceeding, and perhaps lose something by that sacrifice. It would generally happen that in every such instance, where the party accused was possessed of a power and influence so great as to render any delay in proceeding dangerous, that the offences of which he was guilty must be in themselves of so great, so public, and of so very palpable a nature, that no doubt could possibly arise as to his criminality; and there could therefore be no injustice in that summary and decisive mode of proceeding. But the same course ought by no means to be followed in cases so widely different as the present, when the accusation consisted of so

very diffuse and complex a mass, of many charges, which had not been substantiated, and of many facts, which could not in any degree be considered as criminal, though he was ready to declare that it also contained much of proved and most heavy delinquency. In such a case, there could be no danger in following the fair and obvious method of first selecting and ascertaining the guilt, and then proceeding to the impeachment.

Mr. Burke rose to express his willingness to accede to this proposition: for although, he said, if he gave any preference, it must be to the constitutional mode recommended by his right honourable friend, yet he conceived that the difference between the two, each being supported by precedents, was not of so essential a nature, as to make it necessary, by an obstinate adherence to either, to break in upon that unanimity, which had, so much to their credit, and to the credit of the cause they were engaged in, hitherto distinguished their proceedings.

The resolutions were afterwards read and agreed to; and Mr. Burke moved, that they should be referred to a committee to prepare articles of impeachment upon the same, and that the committee consist of the following persons: Edmund Burke, esq. right hon. Charles James Fox, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, esq. sir James Erskine, right hon. Thomas Pelham, right hon. William Wyndham, hon. St. Andrew St. John, John Anstruther, esq. William Adam, esq. M. A. Taylor, esq. Welbore Ellis, esq. right hon. Frederick Montagu, sir Grey Cooper, Philip Francis, esq. sir Gilbert Elliot, Dudley Long, esq. Lord Maitland, hon. G. A. North, general Burgoyne, Mr. Grey.

A division took place upon the nomination of Mr. Francis, against whom it was objected, that in India he had been personally at variance with Mr. Hastings; and he was rejected by a majority of 96 to 44. It was afterwards moved in the usual forms, that the committee might be invested with the customary powers of calling for papers and witnesses, sitting where they pleased, &c. &c.; and it was agreed, that it must necessarily be a secret committee.

On the 19th day of April, Mr. Francis opened the charge relative to the revenues of Bengal.—He took this occasion of vindicating his character against certain malicious insinuations which had been industriously circulated both within and without the house, and to the effects of which he attributed the rejection of his name in the appointment of the committee the day before. It had been insinuated, he said, that through the whole of his conduct in the prosecution of Mr. Hastings, he had been actuated by private personal motives of hostility and hatred. In justification of himself, therefore, he should beg leave to state to the committee the origin and grounds of that hostility.—After stating the circumstances which recommended him to the appointment of one of the council with general Clavering and Mr. Monson, in the year 1773, he solemnly protested that they did not go out, as was generally imagined, with sentiments hostile to Mr. Hastings; but on the contrary that they *all* entertained the highest opinion of that gentleman's public character; insomuch that general Clavering, previous to their sailing, obtained a private audience of his majesty, for the purpose of humbly soliciting him to send out some mark of honour to Mr. Hastings, in order to induce him to continue in the government. With this high opinion of Mr. Hastings, they landed at Calcutta; but soon found their error:—It was upon public grounds, as all who were acquainted with the transactions of India, well knew, that their opposition to Mr. Hastings commenced, and it was upon those grounds that his had continued to the present moment. Another circumstance of a more delicate nature had indeed occurred, which it was necessary to explain to the committee. He had, it was true, fought a duel with that gentleman at Calcutta; but here too there was no private cause of quarrel—their difference had been a public difference. Mr. Hastings had entered a minute upon the records of the council, so injurious to his character in his public capacity, that it left him no other alternative than that which he embraced; they met, and he was shot through the body: He did not imagine that he should survive; he gave Mr. Hastings
his

his hand, and declared he forgave him—But what was it he forgave him? Why, the insult he had offered him, and the being the cause, as he then imagined, of his death. He did not renounce the opinions he held of his public conduct; he did not promise to abandon those opinions in case he survived; he did not engage to desist from prosecuting an inquiry into his conduct, if he lived to come to England, which he had always declared to Mr. Hastings himself he would endeavour to cause to be instituted.

Mr. Francis was answered by Major Scott. After which, Mr. Pitt rose and said, that the observations he had to make upon the present charge lay within so limited a compass, as not to require him to take up much of the time of the committee; and in fact, he should only call their attention to one particular point, upon which alone he thought they could with any degree of propriety concur with the honourable gentleman in the motion which he had made; nor did he think, that even on that point the house would act consistently in voting the present charge, because it was included in another charge to which the house had already assented.—This circumstance was the fact of Mr. Hastings having received presents from Kellaram and Cullian Sing, on the settlement made with the zemindars, farmers, and collectors, in 1781. The house therefore having voted a specific article on that head, he should by no means vote another merely on the same ground; and he was perfectly satisfied that there was no other foundation for a criminal charge against Mr. Hastings in the article which the honourable gentleman had opened, except that which he had now stated—the accepting of presents. Still, if it could be made appear, that the charge, as it stood, would tend to throw any fresh or necessary light upon the receipt of the presents, would establish it more strongly in point of fact, or elucidate and prove the guilt of the transaction more forcibly; he should then be ready and willing to give the motion his hearty support. As to the other matters contained in the charge, and stated by the honourable gentleman, he either looked upon them as not criminal, or, if criminal,

as not sufficiently proved, or capable of being substantiated at the bar of the other house.

In the course of this debate, Mr. Barwell, the member for St. Ives, who had been an associate with Mr. Hastings in the government of Bengal, observed, that a right honourable gentleman having frequently introduced his name with some insinuation of blame, he could not avoid expressing an earnest desire, that if there was any charge of delinquency against him, it might be brought forward, and he was ready to meet it in that house, or elsewhere. Mr. Burke, who was the person alluded to, replied, that he did not mean to bring forward a charge against the honourable member, as his hands were sufficiently full already; but if he was really anxious to be accused, he would, when at leisure, apply himself to the subject; for if he were compelled to speak the truth, he must say, that he did not think the whole of the gentleman's conduct unexceptionable whilst he was in India. At length the question was put, and the committee divided; ayes 71, noes 55.

On the 25th of April, Mr. Burke brought up from the secret committee the articles of impeachment, which being read a first time, were ordered to be printed, and to be taken into consideration on the 9th of May. Upon that day, on a motion that they should be read a second time, lord Hood rose to give his determined negative, and went over the arguments he had urged upon a former occasion. He was followed by Mr. Alderman Wilkes and Mr. Smith, who were of opinion that many facts, upon which the charges were founded, were unsupported by evidence, others justifiable by state necessity, others again actually justified by the approbation of his masters and of the public, others defensible from the difference of manners and government in that country, and others highly meritorious. The former insisted strongly on the silence of the natives of India upon the subject of the dreadful oppressions said to have been practised amongst them; and attributed the greatest part of what appeared criminal in the conduct of Mr. Hastings, to the craving and avaricious policy of this country, whose demands

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demands had in some instances driven Mr. Hastings to the use of means not strictly justifiable. The amount of the charges, he said, supposing the facts true, was this, that Mr. Hastings, by oppression, by injustice and corruption, has obtained for the company nine millions and a half sterling. He thought that all the acts complained of were wise, politic, and just. But were he of a contrary opinion, he could not, as an honest man, lay his hand upon his heart, and vote for the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, while he basely and infamously benefited by his misdeeds; and how gentlemen, who condemn these acts, suffer a day to pass without moving retribution to the sufferers, was to him incomprehensible.

The lord advocate for Scotland (Mr. Hays Campbel) said, that considering the house as sitting in the capacity of a grand jury, and consequently that they ought to be thoroughly persuaded of the truth of the indictment, so far as the evidence went, and not to rest satisfied merely with remote probabilities, he could not conscientiously give his vote for the impeachment. He then took a view of the different articles of charge, and pointed out the parts in which he conceived the evidence to be essentially defective. He considered the necessities of the company, and the dangerous crisis of their affairs, as grounds of justification for the strong measures pursued by Mr. Hastings, in order to extricate them. The company having actually reaped the benefit of them, and so far approved of them, as never to have signified any intention of restitution, he could not conceive with what propriety Mr. Hastings could be impeached for them. He further observed, that Mr. Hastings had been most unjustly blamed for various acts of administration, in which he had only concurred with others; that the order of dates, as well as the state of the council at different periods, ought to have been more distinctly attended to in the charges. Mr. Hastings had enjoyed the casting vote in the council only for a very short time, and even then Mr. Barwell was equally responsible with him. Afterwards Mr. Wheeler, sir John Macpherson, sir Eyre Coote, and Mr. Stables, came gradually into the council.

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At one period a coalition took place between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis. How do the prosecutors account for this? and is Mr. Hastings alone to be made accountable during that period?

He concluded with observing, that in suggesting what had occurred to him in favour of Mr. Hastings, he had avoided saying any thing upon the topic of his extraordinary services in general, being doubtful whether, upon the supposition of guilt in any specific article, a *set-off*, as it is called, or balancing of accounts between merits and demerits, would relevantly be admitted; at the same time it was a mode of defence not altogether new. The proceedings in lord Clive's case left no room to doubt that he owed his safety to it; and there was still a more illustrious example of it in history, the case of Epaminondas, the Theban general, who when tried for his life before the tribunal of his country, for having kept the command four months after he should have laid it down, acknowledged the crime, but enumerated the glorious actions which he had performed; and said he would die with pleasure, if the sole merit of these were ascribed to him.—This speech procured his acquittal: and whoever reads the history of India, during the late war, will be apt to think that Mr. Hastings may die when he pleases, with similar words in his mouth.

Mr. Alderman Townsend justified Mr. Hastings on the ground of state necessity; and said, that he deserved the highest applause, for not having stood upon so paltry a punctilio as considering whether a measure was rigidly correct and legal, when the immediate necessity of the company's affairs, and the salvation of India, were concerned. The making restitution to the persons who had been injured would be more like an act of justice, than hunting down an individual, against whom no complaints had been made.

Mr. Martin declared himself a friend to the impeachment, since the facts in the several charges had been so fully established. He said, if any gentleman would move, that

that retribution should be made, he would second the motion.

Lord Mulgrave said, that as he had always voted against the question, except on the charge relative to presents, he must, for the sake of consistency, vote against the impeachment.

Mr. Burgess produced an address from the officers of the army in India, an army of 70,000 men, all of whom bore testimony to the important services of his administration.

The chancellor of the exchequer then rose, and observed, that he was not a little surprised to find, that after every charge had been fully investigated in the committee, gentlemen should now object to the natural consequence of the whole, without bringing out any new matter whatever. He reprobated the idea of a *set-off* in very strong terms. He acknowledged, that many measures, during the administration of Mr. Hastings, were uncommonly brilliant; and that in these his merits were unquestionable. But he trusted no man, who seriously regarded the honour of the house of commons, would expect that the justice of the country could admit of any compromise whatever. He was sorry his honourable friend, the lord advocate of Scotland, should conceive the honour of the representatives of the British nation not interested in rescuing the British character from that degree of infamy and degradation to which it had been reduced.—The accusations which had been preferred against Mr. Hastings were now not only the cause of the house, but, in his opinion, involved the honour of every member individually. Nor had he less hesitation, from the importance of the subject, to say, it affected the government of the whole empire. It was a question which shook the basis of the constitution, for it was literally a question of responsibility. And here he desired to be understood as by no means agreeing with his honourable friend, in comparing the house of commons to a grand jury. There were certainly points in which that comparison could not be justified. It would, if carried up in
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its full extent, put it out of the power of the commons of Great Britain to carry any bill of impeachment whatever. The house of commons could examine no evidence on oath. All they were, therefore, accountable for was the conviction of their own minds. On this principle, he was prepared to vote for the general question. From the weight and importance of the charges, the policy and interest of the country required that an example should be made of the delinquent. The necessity of this he urged, particularly from the disposition he perceived in the abettors of Mr. Hastings, to justify him on the principles of expediency and necessity. But he contended, that they had even failed in substantiating that plea, since no necessity whatever, in many cases where that pretext was set up, had been proved. He even showed, by the statement of the facts in evidence, that where necessity had been most insisted on, profusion and corruption demonstrated that it did not exist. After pressing this on the house with much earnestness, he adverted to the articles in general, and said, he did not by any means adopt them without exception; but that as he agreed with the leading idea of all, except the charges concerning Cheyt Sing, he thought there could be no impropriety in carrying up the articles as they stood to the house of lords: He should, therefore, from a sincere conviction that he was doing his duty to the public, vote decidedly for the question.

The house then divided on the question, whether the report should be now read a second time, which was carried in the affirmative, by 175 to 89. After which, the first article of impeachment was read and agreed to without a division, and the rest deferred till the morrow, when they were read, amended, and agreed to. Mr. Burke then rose, and moved, "That Warren Hastings, esq. be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours upon the said articles."

The question was then put and carried without any farther debate; after which, Mr. Frederick Montagu moved, "That Mr. Burke, in the name of the house of commons, and of all the commons of Great Britain,

do go to the bar of the house of lords and impeach Warren Hastings, esq. of high crimes and misdemeanours." The motion being agreed to, the majority of the house immediately attended Mr. Burke to the bar of the house of peers, where Mr. Burke solemnly impeached Mr. Hastings.

On the 14th of May, another charge respecting misdemeanours in Oude was added to the former by Mr. Burke, and voted without a division. On the same day the articles actually prepared were sent to the lords; and on the 21st, Mr. Hastings, being conducted to the bar of that house by the serjeant at arms, was taken into the custody of the black rod, but on the motion of the lord chancellor was admitted to bail; himself in 20,000*l.* and two sureties, Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Sumner, in 10,000*l.* each; and he was ordered to deliver in an answer to the articles of impeachment in one month from that time, or upon the second day of the next session of parliament.

On the 30th of May, the king put an end to the present session, by a speech applauding the measures taken by parliament respecting the reduction of the national debt, and the treaty of navigation and commerce with the most christian king. He spoke of the general tranquillity of Europe, and lamented the dissensions which unhappily prevailed among the states of the United Provinces.

In the beginning of this year, Lord George Gordon was tried and convicted of two libels, the one against the queen of France and Mons. Barthelemy, charge des affaires from that court; the other a libel intitled, "*The Prisoners Petition*," reflecting upon the administration of justice in this country; particularly with respect to the transportation of convicts to Botany Bay, and tending to excite prisoners to mutiny. He appeared several times in the court of king's bench, without either counsel or attorney; and conducted himself with great impropriety, by breaking in upon the other business of the court and taking exceptions to the proceedings against him.

At length, on the 30th of April, Lord George Gordon appeared in court, to plead to the informations; accompanied by Mr. Wilkins, a printer and bookseller, in Aldermanbury, who published the papers charged upon his lordship as libellous. The information being read, his lordship pleaded *not guilty*, as did Mr. Wilkins the printer of the libel, intitled "The Prisoners Petition," addressed to his lordship, to prevent their banishment to Botany Bay.

On the 6th of June, his lordship was tried before justice Buller, at the court of king's bench, when his conduct was irregular and imprudent. The counsel for the crown brought witnesses, who amply proved that the defendant was the author of the libels stated in the information. The passage quoted from "The Prisoners Petition" in the information, was to the following purport—"At a time when the nations of the earth endeavour wholly to follow the laws of God, it is no wonder that we, labouring under our severe sentences, should cry out from our dungeons and ask redress. Some of us are about to suffer execution without righteousness, and others to be sent off to a barbarous country. The records of justice have been falsified, and the laws profanely altered by men like ourselves. The bloody laws against us have been enforced, under a nominal administration, by mere whitened walls, men who possess only the show of justice, and who have condemned us to death contrary to law, &c." The evidence being closed, the jury, without hesitation, returned their verdict *guilty*. Mr. Wilkins was also tried, and found *guilty*.

His lordship was immediately tried for the libel against the queen of France, upon which the jury returned a similar verdict.

Before the time appointed for receiving judgment, however, his lordship went to Holland. Whilst at Amsterdam, he received an order from the burgomasters of that place, commanding him to leave that city within the space of twenty-four hours. In consequence of this notice, he left Holland and returned to England; and on the 7th of December was apprehended at Birmingham,

by an officer of justice, on a warrant from judge Buller, for a contempt of court. He had lived at this place several months, conversing principally with Jews, whose mode of dress and manners he had assumed, and to whose religion he ever after professed himself a proselyte. He was immediately brought to London, and soon afterwards received judgment. He was sentenced to three years imprisonment in the goal of Newgate, for composing and publishing *The Prisoners Petition*; and two years more for the libel against the queen of France, with a fine of 500l.; and also to give security for fourteen years good behaviour, himself in ten thousand pounds, and two other securities in two thousand five hundred pounds each. After languishing five years in Newgate, his lordship appeared in the court of king's bench with the fine of five hundred pounds, and offered his own security of ten thousand pounds, but was unable to procure the other securities required. Upon this inability he was remanded back to prison, where he lingered a few months longer and died. The severity with which he was treated by the executive power after he had suffered five years imprisonment, excited almost general abhorrence, and he was greatly pitied, even by those who reprobated the irregularity of his conduct.

We shall now proceed to relate some particulars of those dissensions which prevailed this year in the United Provinces, alluded to by his majesty in his speech at the close of the session.

Nothing could afford a more striking instance how much the issue of the greatest and most systematically conducted affairs of state depend on unforeseen events, often collateral to the cause in question, than was exhibited by the arrest of the princess of Orange at Schoonhoven. After the whole train is regularly laid, and political designs are ripening by mature degrees, it frequently happens, that resolutions are to be taken on the spur of the occasion, which are decisive of failure or success, but which admit of little or no deliberation. Thus it was in the affairs of Holland.

The princess of Orange, whether from a confidence founded in a sense of her abilities, or on the influence which she expected might be derived from her sex, dignity, and family, adopted the resolution of proceeding, unaccompanied by the prince her husband, from Nimeguen to the Hague; intending, undoubtedly, to have entered into a personal negotiation with the leaders of the adverse party, and at the same time to manage the interests of the stadtholder with the states general, the council of state, and other great bodies of the government.

Whatever the secret motives might be, those avowed by the princess were, that she was on her way to the House in the Wood (a palace belonging to the house of Orange, known by that name, and adjoining to the Hague), in order to communicate to Mr. Van Bleiswick, the grand pensionary to their noble mightinesses the states of Holland, and to their high mightinesses the states general, such conciliatory propositions, in the name of the prince her husband (who could not in the present situation of affairs attend in person), as would, if it were yet possible, prevent the evils and horrors of a civil war, which at present hung so heavily over the republic.

On the other hand, the adverse party represented this mysterious journey as a measure fraught with the greatest dangers. They said, that in order to facilitate the stadtholder's open operations against them in the field, the princess had come into Holland with a view of exciting insurrection and rebellion among the people, and of throwing every thing into confusion at home. That the debauching the troops of the state, and procuring a farther desertion of them from their masters, was probably another object of the journey. And, as it was necessary to inflame as much as possible the minds of the more vulgar and ignorant members of their party, and as a common travelling post-coach or two, with a couple of hired chaises, could not well bear the imputation of being the conveyance of any dangerous quantity of artillery, it was industriously given out, that the princess's baggage

gage was full fraught with ammunition of the most dangerous nature, for that above 3000 orange cockades were packed up in it, which she intended to distribute among her adherents. And, as the baggage was not searched, either from motives of respect, or from a political assumption of them, it became impossible after to prove the negative.

The princess, accompanied only by the baroness Wafanaar, count Bentinck, a field officer or two, and attended by a few domestics, arrived, in the common mode of travelling, with hired carriages, at the borders of Holland, near Schoonhoven. They were stopped by the first guard of armed burghers they met; but upon a declaration of the princess's quality, and where she was going, the officer, after much hesitation, and apparent embarrassment, suffered them to proceed.

We have before observed, that the place of the deserted troops had been supplied by the armed burghers, who, with those that remained, still kept up the line on the frontiers of Utrecht. It appears that the commanding officers of the line had received some previous intelligence of the approach of the princess, and it is probable had time to receive private instructions from the secret commission of defence at Woerden, which was furnished in some respects with dictatorial powers, in what manner to act upon this new occasion. The princess seems rather to have passed by than through Schoonhoven, and proceeded (June 28, 1789) above a league farther without interruption; but the carriages were then suddenly surrounded by a party of burghers, who were soon joined by a detachment of the horse of Hesse Philipstal, whose commander had gone over to the prince, but was either deserted by his regiment, or they had refused to proceed with him.

This detachment, though officered, submitted to act like machines, under the orders of a rough, vulgar, ignorant captain of the free corps. Their behaviour was such as might have been expected from such a leader; who was equally ignorant of military duties, and of the manners established among gentlemen. After much altercation

tercation and delay, he, with difficulty, complied with a proposal of the princess, to send an express to general Van Ryssell, who was at three leagues distance, in order that he might remove this obstruction to her route; but absolutely refused to let M. Bentinck accompany the express, and was hardly persuaded to suffer him to write a few lines to Van Ryssell.

On a representation of the very disagreeable situation of the princess, who was stopped upon a narrow road between two canals, it was agreed to remove her to some more convenient place until the arrival of the messenger from Van Ryssell. The miserable guard who had her in custody, and who exhibited the exultation and disorder of a banditti who had seized a rich prey, rather than the conduct and character of soldiers, by their noise and sudden unmilitary motions so startled the horses in the princess's carriage, that she narrowly escaped being overturned into one of the canals; while their insolence and brutality were such, that they prevented, by force, the gentlemen in the other carriages from going to her assistance.

They were then conveyed as prisoners through the country, without knowing for some time whither they were to be carried, until their arrival at a small town about seven o'clock in the evening. At this place they were conducted to head-quarters (we suppose an inn) where the princess and the gentlemen were conducted to one room, and her attendants put in another adjoining. Sentries were placed at all the doors, and the most ridiculous precautions used to prevent an escape. The captain of the free corps accompanied the princess in her room, with his sword drawn in his hand, but upon a remonstrance of the impropriety, civilly put it in the scabbard; and, sitting cross-legged by her side, he ordered wine, beer, pipes, and tobacco, as a refreshment.

In some hours the commissioners from Woerden arrived, who endeavoured to palliate what was past by the strictness of their orders, and the danger and necessity of the times; but pleaded their inability to suffer the princess to proceed on her journey, until the re-
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turn of a messenger whom they had despatched for instructions to the states. In the mean time they recommended to the princess to choose some neighbouring town where she could meet with proper accommodation for passing the night. She accordingly fixed upon Gouda, as the nearest; but they apprehending an insurrection if she went to that town, Schoonhoven was at length determined upon, where she arrived about midnight, accompanied by two of the commissioners, and escorted by a party of horse.

The princess had immediately despatched letters to the grand pensionary and to the secretary, upon her arrival at Schoonhoven; and waited there the following day for the answers to them, as well as that which was expected from the states of Holland. These not arriving, she set out the morning of the 30th on her return to Nimeguen. The expresses, however, came up, before she had repassed the Lech; but, as they contained nothing satisfactory, nor in the smallest degree tending to encourage her in the pursuit of her object, of going to the Hague, she continued her journey. That adventurer the rhingrave of Salm, who is a younger brother of the actual prince of that title, and who has made himself so notorious in the course of these troubles, having in the interim spread a report, with a view of exciting the people to some extraordinary violence, that the prince of Orange was travelling post with an army of 12,000 men, for the rescue of the princess from her captivity.

While the princess was in durance, the prince of Orange despatched a letter to the states general, claiming their immediate interference for her liberation, as well as for proper satisfaction for so unprecedented and extraordinary an insult.

But the business was now to fall into more effective hands, and to be taken up by a power that was not to be trifled with. A strong memorial, as soon as it could be done, was transmitted from the king of Prussia (July 10.) through Mr. Thulemeyer to the states of Holland. His language was now considerably changed from that which he usually held. He expressed the deepest sense of the

the affront, violence, and injury to his sister, as if offered directly and personally to himself. He insisted accordingly upon immediate and ample satisfaction, and particularly upon the punishment of those who had committed the outrage; and concluded by giving them to understand, that he should estimate the value which they placed on his friendship and good-will, by their conduct upon this occasion.

In the intermediate time, the states of Holland had passed a resolution, justifying and approving of the conduct of their commissioners, in, what they called, "this extraordinary, unexpected, and disagreeable affair." In the debates upon this subject, they seemed to throw the whole blame of every thing that happened upon the princess, by her adopting the rash measure of suddenly entering the territories of Holland, after so long an absence, and in so critical a season, without previously acquainting the states with her design; a measure which could not be considered otherwise than dangerous; for that if the conciliatory motives assigned had been the real causes of the journey, such a preliminary application was so indispensably necessary to their effect, that it could not possibly have been overlooked.

The Prussian memorial drew a very long and laboured, but dissatisfactory answer from the states of Holland. They denied all intention of insulting the king's sister; attributed to her sudden and unexpected entry into the country, without any attention to the usual and necessary forms, whatever had happened; palliated some and denied others of the circumstances relative to her treatment: From all their information it was conducted decently, without the shadow of any thing injurious, or of any of respect shown to her royal highness; justified their commissioners; if they had acted otherwise, the laws of their country would have affixed some penalty on them. They renewed the topic, though in a less lofty strain, of their own supreme sovereignty; declared their great respect for the king, but insinuated that respect between sovereigns should be mutual; and observed, that with the greatest respect and regard which they held for the person
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turn of a messenger whom they had despatched for instructions to the states. In the mean time they recommended to the princess to choose some neighbouring town where she could meet with proper accommodation for passing the night. She accordingly fixed upon Gouda, as the nearest; but they apprehending an insurrection if she went to that town, Schoonhoven was at length determined upon, where she arrived about midnight, accompanied by two of the commissioners, and escorted by a party of horse.

The princess had immediately despatched letters to the grand pensionary and to the secretary, upon her arrival at Schoonhoven; and waited there the following day for the answers to them, as well as that which was expected from the states of Holland. These not arriving, she set out the morning of the 30th on her return to Nimeguen. The expresses, however, came up, before she had repassed the Lech; but, as they contained nothing satisfactory, nor in the smallest degree tending to encourage her in the pursuit of her object, of going to the Hague, she continued her journey. That adventurer the rhingrave of Salm, who is a younger brother of the actual prince of that title, and who has made himself so notorious in the course of these troubles, having in the interim spread a report, with a view of exciting the people to some extraordinary violence, that the prince of Orange was travelling post with an army of 12,000 men, for the rescue of the princess from her captivity.

While the princess was in durance, the prince of Orange despatched a letter to the states general, claiming their immediate interference for her liberation, as well as for proper satisfaction for so unprecedented and extraordinary an insult.

But the business was now to fall into more effective hands, and to be taken up by a power that was not to be trifled with. A strong memorial, as soon as it could be done, was transmitted from the king of Prussia (July 10.) through Mr. Thulemeyer to the states of Holland. His language was now considerably changed from that which he usually held. He expressed the deepest sense of
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the affront, violence, and injury to his sister, as if offered directly and personally to himself. He insisted accordingly upon immediate and ample satisfaction, and particularly upon the punishment of those who had committed the outrage; and concluded by giving them to understand, that he should estimate the value which they placed on his friendship and good-will, by their conduct upon this occasion.

In the intermediate time, the states of Holland had passed a resolution, justifying and approving of the conduct of their commissioners, in, what they called, "this extraordinary, unexpected, and disagreeable affair." In the debates upon this subject, they seemed to throw the whole blame of everything that happened upon the princess, by her adopting the rash measure of suddenly entering the territories of Holland, after so long an absence, and in so critical a season, without previously acquainting the states with her design; a measure which could not be considered otherwise than dangerous; for that if the conciliatory motives assigned had been the real causes of the journey, such a preliminary application was so indispensably necessary to their effect, that it could not possibly have been overlooked.

The Prussian memorial drew a very long and laboured, but dissatisfactory answer from the states of Holland. They denied all intention of insulting the king's sister; attributed to her sudden and unexpected entry into the country, without any attention to the usual and necessary forms, whatever had happened; palliated some and denied others of the circumstances relative to her treatment: From all their information it was conducted decently, without the shadow of any thing injurious, or of any of respect shown to her royal highness; justified their commissioners; if they had acted otherwise, the laws of their country would have affixed some penalty on them. They renewed the topic, though in a less lofty strain, of their own supreme sovereignty; declared their great respect for the king, but insinuated that respect between sovereigns should be mutual; and observed, that with the greatest respect and regard which they held for the person
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of her royal highness, they cannot think that his majesty means, that she should be exalted above the sovereignty. They conclude, that the measures pursued on this occasion were necessary for preserving the peace of the province, by preventing those popular tumults and violences, of which they had such frequent and deplorable instances; and finally imputed the king's interference to partial and unfounded representations.

The Prussian minister had likewise presented another memorial from the king, on the same subject, to the states general; but their answer was so satisfactory, as to produce a return of acknowledgement and thanks from the king. Their high mightinesses declared, that they had made repeated applications, without success, to the states of Holland upon this unfortunate occasion; that they must therefore leave it entirely to them to abide the consequences, as they would not themselves be in any degree answerable for them.

The king of Prussia lost no time in ordering a representation of the outrage offered to his sister to be laid before the court of Versailles. In order to counteract the effect of this representation, the states of Holland were no less alert in laying before that court their answer to the Prussian memorial, together with their justificatory detail of the transactions, included in resolutions which they passed upon the occasion. It could not then but be to their unspeakable mortification, that they found the French king, their boasted ally and the great supporter and friend of the party, had in strong terms condemned the treatment experienced by the princess; he declared, that he conceived it to be a gross insult; that it was carrying matters to too great a length; that the king of Prussia was therefore certainly justified in demanding ample satisfaction for the affront; and that it ought undoubtedly to be given.

The answer of the states of Holland drew a memorial from Baron Thulemeyer, (August 6th.) expressing in strong terms the mixed surprise and indignation which that answer excited in the Prussian monarch. That it was with the utmost astonishment he found, that, instead
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of an offer of just satisfaction, proportioned to the insult, they had returned an answer supported only by evasive and insufficient arguments. That his majesty would not admit, that the pretended ignorance of the motives which carried her royal highness to the Hague, and the apprehension of a popular commotion, should afford any excuse or colour to the conduct of the commission at Woerden. That such a suspicion, ostentatiously published, was a new insult. That the word of the princess, and her solemn declaration of the salutary motives by which she was excited, should have afforded the most perfect conviction to these deputies of the states; while the prudence with which she concealed her journey, in order to prevent the people from showing those demonstrations of zeal and joy on her arrival, which their affections would otherwise have rendered inevitable, should have been considered as a fresh cause for the gratitude of government. That the king will not trouble himself with inquiring into the legality of the right of refusal, which the commission at Woerden attributes to itself upon this occasion; but he will consider the more attentively the manner in which it was given and executed. That proceedings so outrageous and offensive have made a deep impression on the mind of the king, who looks on the injury as offered to himself. "It is by the express orders of that monarch, that the underwritten again demands from your noble and great mightinesses, an immediate and suitable satisfaction for the insult; and his majesty further enjoins me not to suffer you to remain ignorant, that he will persist invariably upon this satisfaction, and that he will not content himself with a discussion of detached circumstances, vague excuses, or further shifts and evasions."

This was followed by a note from Mr. Thulemeyer, containing the forms of the satisfaction with which the king was willing to be contented: That the states should write a letter to her royal highness (to be first approved of by the Prussian minister), disavowing the supposition that she had any views contrary to the welfare of the republic; that they should apologise for the opposition
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made to her journey, and for the treatment of which she complained; that they should punish, at the requisition of the princess, those persons who were culpable of the offences offered to her august person; that they should revoke the erroneous and injurious resolutions which they had passed with respect to this journey; and that this revocation should be accompanied with an invitation in these terms: "That her royal highness will come to the Hague, to enter into a negotiation, in the name of the prince stadtholder, for conciliating, by a suitable arrangement, the differences which subsist at present."

That if these moderate conditions are without difficulty complied with by the states, her royal highness will interfere with the king her brother, to forbear any further requisition for satisfaction on this subject. But that in the interim, until the negotiation takes place, his majesty expects, in the most express manner, that the states of Holland will, at least, let things remain in their present state; and that they will not proceed to any suspension, deprivation, or other measures, offensive or prejudicial to the person of the prince stadtholder, captain and admiral general, as by so doing they will render all conciliation illusory and impossible, and will add to the offences.

It will not be supposed that concessions so mortifying to the pride and so inimical to the designs of the republican leaders, could have been submitted to. Indeed, the domineering language and the haughty arrogance, which they had so long been in the habit of using towards the stadtholder and his family, seemed to render them incapable of any concession, however moderate. Their reliance upon France, in the last resort, was likewise still unimpaired. The states of Holland, in their deliberation upon Thulemeyer's memorial, resolved not to enter into any verbal or written discussion of the subject there, but to depute two of their number to Berlin, to explain matters upon the spot to the king. But when the express arrived in four days from that city, with the precise terms of the satisfaction not only demanded

demanded but insisted on, they thought it necessary to prepare for the worst, and immediately issued an order to have every thing in readiness for laying the country under water, the moment any foreign troops should enter the territories of the republic.

In the mean time every thing carried the face of immediate war at Berlin. Troops assembling, field equipage preparing, magazines forming, and councils of war frequently held, at which the reigning duke of Brunswick constantly presided. In the interim, 9000 Prussian troops lined the frontiers of the duchy of Cleves, bordering on the territories of the republic; the governor of Wesel received orders to prepare accommodations for the reception of an army of 60 or 70,000 men; and all these preparations were avowedly designed for obtaining satisfaction from the states of Holland, for the insult offered to the prince of Orange.

During these transactions the stadtholder had taken, by a *coup de main*, the fortified town of Wick, otherwise called Duerstede, in the province of Utrecht; a place eminently noted, in the course of these troubles, for its early rejection of the authority of the provincial states, the adoption of violent republican principles, and for the animosity which it bore to the stadtholder; being in all these respects scarcely inferior to the capital itself, under whose protection it was fostered and supported. This town was, particularly from its situation, an acquisition of great importance to the stadtholder; it is situated on the borders of Holland, within 24 miles of Amsterdam; commands the course of that part of the Rhine, here called the Lech, on which it stands; possesses the command of several sluices; and may be considered as the key of that province on the side of Utrecht. This was so well understood by the stadtholder, that, notwithstanding the smallness of his army, he placed a garrison of 1000 men in it. The consternation and alarm which the surprise occasioned at Amsterdam, sufficiently showed the justness of his estimate.

This first success was soon followed by the taking of Harderwycke, a town of Guelderland, important like-

wife from its situation, which is on the Zuyder sea. At the same period, whether these successes were instrumental to it or not, the city of Middleburgh and the whole province of Zealand declared without reserve in his favour. The prince then advanced with his army towards the city of Utrecht, where he encamped at a league's distance, and, spreading his posts to a considerable extent, began greatly to streighten the intercourse of that turbulent people with the adjacent country.

In this state of things, the rhingrave of Salin, who was considered as the hero of the party, and was besides governor of the city, and commander in chief of all the forces, whether foreign or domestic, employed in its defence, thought it necessary to make some attempt for the support of that high reputation which, without danger or service, he had so fortuitously obtained. For this purpose, he adopted the scheme of making a strong sortie from the city at night, with a view, if not of beating up the prince's quarters, at least of surprising and carrying some of his detached posts; which, from their extent, seemed a very feasible design.

The force which he led out upon this occasion, nearly included all orders and descriptions of military men. Cuirassiers, hussars, fusileers, and marksmen, of his own legion; voluntier chasseurs; regular infantry of Holland, and voluntiers; infantry of a corps called Palardi's; besides the burghers of the town, under whatever denominations, - This force was divided in two columns without the city, where each took its allotted course, on the night of the 26th of July; one being led by the rhingrave in person, and the other by a lieutenant colonel called Kiernenburg. The first, through some mischance, passed the night without finding the enemy; and when at length they discovered him at break of day, they found him in such a state of strength and preparation, that the rhingrave, perceiving at once the danger, showed such judgment and prudence in the timely manner of making his retreat, that his troops returned safe to Utrecht, without the expense of a single shot.

Not such was the fortune of the other column. They found their way directly to their object, at the post of Soesdyck, which they attacked with vigour and intrepidity long before day. This was an old seat, under the name of a castle, with a village adjoining, belonging to the house of Orange. The troops of Hesse-Darmstadt have been long renowned for their excellence; and it happened, unluckily for the assailants, that the village was occupied by part of a regiment of that prince in the Dutch service. These, notwithstanding the darkness and surprise, were instantly in arms, and were acknowledged, even by their enemy, to have well sustained their ancient reputation. They lined the hedges of the gardens, the windows of some parts of the castle, and, seizing every tenable spot, defended all with the most determined valour. The conflict lasted fiercely till the approach of day; when other troops being attracted by the noise of the firing to the relief of the post, the assailants were forced to retire with the loss of more than a hundred and fifty men: But their retreat to Utrecht had nearly proved fatal; for their guide being killed, they were led by another (they say through treachery) almost into the jaws of the enemy; so that they with difficulty escaped being involved in the centre of the Stadtholder's camp at Zeist. A French officer of some distinction served as a volunteer in the corps of Salm upon this occasion. Indeed the officers of that nation were generally either parties in or witnesses to most of the transactions of this time; and one of rank and quality had even been present at the seizure of the princess of Orange.

All the effect which so many untoward circumstances and strong indications of signal approaching danger, seemed to produce upon the ruling party in Holland, was to render them more harsh in their government, obstinate and violent in all their proceedings, and more unrelenting and cruel in their persecution of the Orange party. Among other capricious instances of persecution, violence, and tyranny, the display of Orange colours, in any form or manner, was constituted a crime of the

first magnitude. It was said that two men were openly hanged in the street at noon-day, for transgressing this order. The distorting ribbands or emblems of any colour into the form of the letter (*W*) was rendered highly, if not equally, penal. The exposing of orange-coloured flowers to view, whether in the windows or elsewhere, had been prohibited long before. Such a system of violence,—if voluntary, cruel, and if necessary, unfortunate, under whatever name or form of government, could scarcely be permanent.

In the mean time, a bitter and unmanaged invective against the stadtholder, called, The declaration of the inhabitants of Holland against William the Vth, was signed by about 6000 names, and published. In this piece, the prince was declared to have betrayed his country to England in the midst of a war; he was charged with perjury and violation of his oath; accused of disobedience to his sovereign lords and masters; and stigmatised as behaving like another duke of Alva. As a traitor to his country, they required that he should be stripped of all his dignities, deprived of all his authority, his goods confiscated, his person proscribed, and delivered up to the sovereign, to receive the recompence of his crimes. Such was the last ebullition of popular fury, which was soon to subside under the strong compulsion of a disciplined and victorious army.

The states of Holland used every possible endeavour that the new deputies, elected by the city of Utrecht, should be received as the legal and real representatives of the province by the states general, and that the old legitimate states, who had so long sat at Amersfort, should be excluded from their seats, and consequently their vote, in that assembly. But their high mightinesses, as well as the council of state, resisted this innovation with such firmness, that, to the great disappointment of the party, all their efforts proved fruitless.

Several of the provinces passed resolutions for opening a new congress of mediation; and requesting Great Britain, France, and Prussia, to undertake the friendly office of mediators. This proposal seemed to be cordially

ally accepted by the three powers in question; but Holland still hung back, without an absolute refusal, in direct terms; though the addition of Great Britain to the mediators, was a measure, which nothing but the last extremity could have induced the governing party in that province to admit of. Things were likewise too fast approaching to a crisis, to afford the leisure and time necessary for negotiation.

Though France seemed to lie dormant through the course of these transactions, yet, during the whole summer and the beginning of autumn, she was incessant in her endeavours, by every possible under-hand method, to afford encouragement and assistance to the republican party in Holland. Crowds of French officers arrived every day in that province, and either received commissions in the service of the states, or acted as volunteers in their troops. But this not being thought sufficient, several hundreds of tried and experienced soldiers, whose fidelity and discretion could be relied on, were selected from different regiments, and, being furnished with money for their journey, and assurances of future favour, were despatched in small parties to join the troops, and help to discipline the volunteers and burghers of Holland. It was a new circumstance, that a corps of engineers should be smuggled from one country into another in disguise; and it was rendered still more extraordinary, by the respective countries not immediately bordering in any part. Yet this was now done. The private men were furnished with clothes of the common colours, money, and proper answers to make to any troublesome inquiries; and thus equipped, they were to proceed, in very small parties, to the place of their destination; officers being stationed, in some of the principal towns on their way, to afford any farther succour or advice that might become necessary.

As soon as this influx of French officers and soldiers into the territories of the republic became, from their number, an object of general notice, the states general lost no time in endeavouring at least to stop the growing progress of the enormity. For this purpose, they not

only issued proclamations strongly forbidding the intrusion, but they made very serious complaints upon the subject, both to the French minister at the Hague, and directly to the court of Versailles, by their own minister at Paris. This was all they could do; for those already arrived in Holland were out of their reach.

It was not until the king of Prussia had filled his magazines, advanced his troops and artillery to the frontiers, appointed a commander in chief, completed all his preparations, and was on the point of entering into action, that the states of Holland at length thought proper, in some degree, to descend from that high station of assumed power and dignity, on which they had so long strutted. Without seeming to consider the change in comparative power and estimation which had taken place between other states and their own, without seeming to recollect that they were only a single divided province, opposed by a majority of its fellows, they had assumed all the pride of sovereignty, and all the confidence of dictation, which the united republic could have displayed in the days of its greatest power and splendour. Whether it proceeded from a more perfect recollection of their condition, or because men grow moderate in their language as their resolution becomes more determined; they now, however, when it was too late, and the die already cast, returned an answer (Sept. 8) full of condescension, to the king of Prussia's last memorial. But though they expressed the greatest concern for what had happened to the prince's, and nearly the greatest possible degree of regard, and even reverence, for her and the king; although they deprecated his wrath in terms approaching to humiliation, and seemed almost to supplicate his friendship; yet they still persevered in justifying the conduct of the commissioners at Woerden, by denying that they had been guilty in the want of respect to the prince's, excepting that the mere discharge of their duty (which they were doubly bound to, by the strictness of their orders, and still more by the unfortunate necessity of the times) should be considered as such. Upon the whole, it teemed with such expressions

expressions of humility, and even showed so conciliatory a disposition (particularly in throwing themselves upon the king's friendship and mediation for reconciling their differences), that it is probable if such an answer had been returned in the first instance, and its spirit adhered to, things could scarcely have arrived at their present extremity; at least a door would have been open to accommodation and peace.

But the season of peremptory resolutions, ingenious, lively, argumentative replies, boastful threats, memorials, and even apologies, was now at an end; and the controversy hastened to a different issue.

On the 13th of September 1787, the Prussian army, consisting of 25 battalions, and as many squadrons, advanced from their rendezvous in the duchy of Cleves, and entered the province of Guelderland in three columns; that on the right, which directed its course to the northward, being under the command of general Lottum; the center column, led by the generals Waldeck and Gaudi, marched on both sides the Lech, on which, and the Waal, were the boats which conveyed the magazines, the lazaret, and the pontoons of the army; the left column, which took the most southern direction, was immediately commanded by the duke in person. Three of the battalions being left behind to secure the communications from the frontiers, the whole number of effective men, that entered the province of Holland, amounted to somewhat more than 18,000. Their artillery, as might be expected, was excellently chosen for a sudden and short war, in which regular sieges were not the immediate object, consisting only of 16 six-pounders, eight twelve-pounders, and eight ten-inch howitzers.

The two former columns crossed the Lech at Westerpolder, and encamped near Arnheim; the duke's division passed the Waal at Nimeguen, and encamped near Lend. The only interruption to their progress proceeded from the excessive rains, which rendered the spongy soil of that low flat country a perfect marsh, and the roads nearly impassable, the infantry sinking to the mid-leg at every

every step. The Prussian hussars were, however, pushed forward on all sides, and a party under the command of a lieutenant, which the duke had detached from Tiel, hearing that the republicans were strong, and seemed determined on resistance at Leerdam, in Holland, on the way to Nieupoort, they advanced thither with great rapidity; but they found the place abandoned by the garrison on their approach, and the excessive fatigue rendered their horses incapable of a pursuit.

The duke of Brunswick pursuing the same course, turned to the left to Gorcum, which he found in a considerable state of defence, and the cannon from the ramparts were fired at him as he advanced with a detachment of hussars to reconnoitre the place. The camp was some miles behind; but colonel Romberg, with a detachment of infantry, escorted by hussars and chasseurs, and accompanied by the necessary artillery, having marched all night, notwithstanding the deepness of the country, with the numberless deep and broad ditches they had to pass, arrived at Dalem, a village near the town, by break of day, (Sept. 17th.) In this place he immediately raised a battery of howitzers, sending at the same time an officer to summon the town, with a threat of immediate bombardment in case of refusal. An hour's time being allowed for an answer, and none returned, the officer was again sent back, accompanied by a trumpet; but on his approach being fired at by the sentinels, this affront was considered and accepted as the signal for bombardment.

The celebrated colonel and chamberlain Capelle, so eminent for his republican principles, and the part which he took in that cause, was governor of Gorcum, so that more than a common defence was to be expected. A few shot, however, only were fired, and about five grenades thrown, when a house was perceived in flames; and a new instance was given, how unfit an opulent people, tremblingly alive to their property, are to withstand the dangers and calamities of war. A white flag was displayed from the tower, a parley immediately

ately founded, and the fire of the battery as suddenly stopped.

The governor met colonel Romberg at the gate; the conditions were soon settled, M. Capelle giving up the city, and surrendering himself and the garrison prisoners of war; though, contrary to all military rules, he had previously given orders to the soldiers to make their escape down the Waal, by the boats which lay in numbers off the town. The duke of Brunswick arrived just as the capitulation was signed; and marching along with the troops into the town, received a much greater satisfaction than this first triumph could have otherwise afforded, in his having been hailed by all the inhabitants that appeared (and who were evidently a great majority) as their deliverer, while the air resounded with acclamations in favour of the house of Orange. The prisoners taken in Gorcum, consisted only of five officers, besides the governor, with 63 soldiers; but the artillery amounted to 105 pieces of cannon. Not a single person had been killed or wounded; one house burnt, another damaged, and a windmill blown up by a shell, was the whole damage done.

On the first intelligence of the entrance of the Prussian army, the commissioners of defence at Woerden issued immediate orders for inundating the country; but the waters of the Waal and the Lech, happening then to be uncommonly low, this circumstance frustrated the design in the first instance; and the unremitted activity of the Prussian hussars and chasseurs, in dispersing the labourers, and taking the troops appointed to protect them, rendered the execution afterwards impracticable. In the mean time, the different directions in which the Prussian columns intersected the country, the manner in which it was overspread by their subdivisions, and the rapidity by which their hussars and chasseurs seemed to appear at different places in the same instant, not only magnified their numbers in the eyes of the people to a prodigious degree, but the consternation and terror was so great, and all means of communication and counsel so suddenly cut off, that each town, seeming abandoned to
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its fate, without knowledge of the state of its fellows, lost at once the powers of action and defence: The only exertion left among the armed burghers, the volunteers, and every order of the military, being to make their escape at all events from the places they were in, without any certainty where they were to find shelter, and under the trembling apprehension, at every step, of being overtaken or intercepted by the enemy. Some of these fugitives, however, committed great outrages in their flight, plundering and burning the houses of the Orange party in the villages and open country; while they endeavoured in vain to fix the imputation of these disorders upon the Prussians, who observed, through all these transactions, as strict a discipline, as if they had been only changing quarters or marching to a review in their own country. The celerity of the hussars soon put an end to these enormities, by the dispersion and chastisement of the marauders.

After the taking of Gorcum, the duke's detachments spread on all sides, and every thing fell before them. Besides places of less consequence, Nieuport and Schoonhoven, both cities capable of a long defence, if there had been even leisure for regular sieges, were abandoned by their garrisons without waiting for the sight of the enemy; notwithstanding which, a considerable number of the latter were brought back prisoners by the Prussian hussars. Dort surrendered to a handful of hussars who were going on other service, and who seemed to summon it by chance, or merely out of a bravado. Another detachment having boldly advanced to the gates of Rotterdam, they were immediately thrown open to them. In the same manner Leyden and Haerlem surrendered, without firing a shot.

Similar success attended the column which advanced on both sides the Lech; Viannan, the Vaart, and every place in their way, was abandoned at their approach. The first advance of these troops on the south side of Utrecht, while the right hand column under general Lottum was at the same time within a few miles of them to the north, threw that turbulent city into the most deplorable

plorable state of terror and confusion. Their opinion of their own consequence made them imagine that they were the only object in view with both columns, that they would accordingly close upon the city, and that, surrounding it on all sides, they should at once be equally cut off from all means of relief and escape.

The people of Utrecht were so unwilling to be disturbed from the dream of confidence, greatness, and security, which they had so long indulged, that the first accounts which they received of the entrance of the Prussian army, though authenticated by persons of veracity, were treated with the utmost contempt and ridicule. But when, on the night of the same evening, expresses arrived from Amersford, with intelligence of Gen. Lotum's arrival at that place, within 14 miles of them, and at the same instant others arrived from Wick, in the opposite direction, and about the same distance, with the news that they saw Waldeck's army enter the town, no words could describe the consternation and dismay which ensued. All eyes were turned to their hero, the rhinegrave of Salm, and some remains of hope still lingered, that his courage and military knowledge would have administered relief; but when it was seen that he was no less oppressed by the general terror than the multitude, that he was among the foremost who prepared for escaping, and that he declared the city was indefensible, nothing could exceed the disorder and confusion that prevailed.

Some faint attempts were made to spike the artillery, and to spoil the powder in the magazines; but the fears of those employed soon became so predominant, that every other object and consideration immediately gave way to the desire of escape. In an incredibly short space of time, all the roads and canals leading to Holland were covered with the horses, carriages, and boats of those terrified fugitives, who escaped with their families, and whatever else they could convey. A greater number, who could not procure these conveniences, traversed the roads on foot, loaded with such parts of their effects as they deemed most valuable, and could best carry. Some
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hundreds, however, of the citizens, with more sense and prudence than any of these, took the resolution of breaking and hiding their arms, destroying their hostile emblems, and waiting quietly in their houses to abide the consequences; and by this wise and easy measure, happily escaped all question, and all loss.

This memorable night of terror, confusion, and miserable flight, happened so early after the arrival of the Prussians in the province, as the 15th of September; and it is worthy of observation, that Utrecht was not within the line of operation of any of the columns of that army; for they had no intention of losing time in the siege of a city of such extent, so powerful in men, arms, and money, and where, from the character and past conduct of the inhabitants, they had every reason to expect a most obstinate resistance.

The inhabitants of the town, who were in the Orange interest, did not venture out of their houses during the tumult of this night, but were astonished in the morning at finding the city evacuated by all orders of armed men, and the artillery lying on the works without sentinels or guards. This intelligence was immediately conveyed to the stadtholder's camp; but it seemed so incredible as not to obtain a ready belief; it was on the contrary supposed to be a stratagem of the enemy, in order to lead the troops into an ambuscade. An English volunteer officer soon put an end to this doubt, by galloping himself to Utrecht, and personally examining the city and works. The prince and his army then entered in triumph; the states of the province were restored to their long lost residence in the capital, and the city soon recovered its pristine tranquillity.

The desertion of Utrecht accordingly excited the most general dismay at Amsterdam, while the fugitives communicated their own fears to all places where they fled for shelter.

But, during these military transactions, an unexpected revolution had taken place at the Hague, which greatly changed the face of internal affairs in the province of Holland. We have before seen, that the inhabitants of
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that place were in general strongly attached to the person and interests of the prince of Orange. The governing party, well aware of this disposition, and knowing that the officers and troops who composed the ordinary garrison were little more to be trusted than the inhabitants, had long since brought in a strong body of volunteers, to rule the one, and to keep the other in check. These were stationed in the center of the town, and had two pieces of artillery in constant readiness for immediate service, placed before their main guard. Under the consternation and dismay which the deplorable flight from Utrecht, the progress of the Prussians, and the failure of French succours, all together excited on the republican side, it was easily seen that the volunteers would not be long able to keep so populous a place in awe, and several of the principal persons of that party accordingly retired for safety to Amsterdam.

This increased the general hope and confidence, but still some immediate impulse was wanting to bring the long-suppressed spirit into action. This was soon supplied by the courage of the Swiss soldiers, who formerly composed the stadtholder's state guard. They boldly, in the face of the volunteers, and in broad day, carried off their two pieces of cannon in triumph through the streets, while the populace decorated, or rather covered the artillery with orange ribbons; the very possession of which, just before, would have been highly penal; and the display have been made at the immediate risque of life. This served as a general signal. Nothing could be more instantaneous than the effect. In a few minutes the whole place displayed orange colours in every form and manner, and no man would be safe who ventured abroad without one of the late prohibited ribbons, or at least some equivalent symbol. The republicans were disarmed. The states of Holland, finding themselves unable to resist the torrent, were thrown into great confusion; but the most violent of them retiring to Amsterdam, the remainder, who continued the assembly, immediately determined upon the restoration of the prince

hundreds, however, of the citizens, with more sense and prudence than any of these, took the resolution of breaking and hiding their arms, destroying their hostile emblems, and waiting quietly in their houses to abide the consequences; and by this wise and easy measure, happily escaped all question, and all loss.

This memorable night of terror, confusion, and miserable flight, happened so early after the arrival of the Prussians in the province, as the 15th of September; and it is worthy of observation, that Utrecht was not within the line of operation of any of the columns of that army; for they had no intention of losing time in the siege of a city of such extent, so powerful in men, arms, and money, and where, from the character and past conduct of the inhabitants, they had every reason to expect a most obstinate resistance.

The inhabitants of the town, who were in the Orange interest, did not venture out of their houses during the tumult of this night, but were astonished in the morning at finding the city evacuated by all orders of armed men, and the artillery lying on the works without sentinels or guards. This intelligence was immediately conveyed to the stadtholder's camp; but it seemed so incredible as not to obtain a ready belief; it was on the contrary supposed to be a stratagem of the enemy, in order to lead the troops into an ambuscade. An English volunteer officer soon put an end to this doubt, by galloping himself to Utrecht, and personally examining the city and works. The prince and his army then entered in triumph; the states of the province were restored to their long lost residence in the capital, and the city soon recovered its pristine tranquillity.

The desertion of Utrecht accordingly excited the most general dismay at Amsterdam, while the fugitives communicated their own fears to all places where they fled for shelter.

But, during these military transactions, an unexpected revolution had taken place at the Hague, which greatly changed the face of internal affairs in the province of Holland. We have before seen, that the inhabitants of
that

that place were in general strongly attached to the person and interests of the prince of Orange. The governing party, well aware of this disposition, and knowing that the officers and troops who composed the ordinary garrison were little more to be trusted than the inhabitants, had long since brought in a strong body of volunteers, to rule the one, and to keep the other in check. These were stationed in the center of the town, and had two pieces of artillery in constant readiness for immediate service, placed before their main guard. Under the consternation and dismay which the deplorable flight from Utrecht, the progress of the Prussians, and the failure of French succours, all together excited on the republican side, it was easily seen that the volunteers would not be long able to keep so populous a place in awe, and several of the principal persons of that party accordingly retired for safety to Amsterdam.

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of Orange, and sent a deputation that very evening to invite his return.

This revolution at the Hague took place on the 18th of September, being only the sixth day from the entrance of the Prussian army into the province of Guelderland; and North Holland having at the same time declared for the stadtholder, the republican party were, within about a week, confined within the narrow compass of Amsterdam, and its neighbourhood.

On the following evening, the stadtholder arrived from Utrecht, in his way to the Hague, at the duke of Brunswick's head-quarters at Schoonhoven, where he lodged in the same house that the princess had so lately been confined in. Nothing could exceed the demonstrations of joy exhibited on the arrival of this prince at the Hague, after so long an absence, though they were perhaps equalled a few days after on the arrival of the princess.

The members of the states of Holland, who retired to Amsterdam, held a meeting there, as if they had only transferred the assembly from one place to another; but their number was so inconsiderable, consisting only of the deputies of that city, that they did not attempt to proceed to business. The assembly at the Hague was perfect in its representation, with the single exception of the deputies from Amsterdam. They accordingly proceeded without hesitation in restoring the stadtholder to all those offices and rights from which he had been suspended, and consequently annulled all the proceedings which had been pursued against him in that province.

The assembly of the states of Holland used the utmost despatch in adopting and carrying into execution all those measures which tended (according to their own words in the invitation to the stadtholder) "to the preservation of the province, and the re-establishment of the tottering constitution." Their invitation for the return of the princess of Orange was in the terms prescribed, and subjected to the satisfaction demanded by the king of Prussia. On the day the prince entered the Hague, they issued an edict,

edict, abolishing and forbidding the assembling of all those armed societies, which had been formed for the purpose of supporting what was called the patriotic cause. This was immediately followed by despatching an express to the court of Versailles, with information that the disputes between the province of Holland and the stadtholder were now happily terminated; and that, as the circumstances which gave occasion for their application to the king on the 10th current, no longer existed, so the succours which they then requested from his majesty, would now be unnecessary. They likewise issued an edict, forbidding all attempts to inundate the country; and another, strictly commanding the governors of all towns and fortresses, to give free admission to the Prussian forces.

On the first days after the irruption of the Prussian army, the hopes of immediate assistance from France were so strong, that, with an anxious solicitude, all travellers on the roads were eagerly questioned, whether they had seen or heard of the approach of a French army? but these hopes began now not only to fade away, but affairs seemed so desperate, and the revolution so complete, that it became a doubt with all considerate people, whether they could be retrieved by any assistance which France was capable of speedily administering. On the contrary, it was evident that a long and doubtful war, in which England, with the stadtholder's party (which was now the state) would support Prussia, must be the inevitable consequence; in the course of which, whatever the final event might be, the republic could scarcely hope not to be irrecoverably ruined.

Yet, notwithstanding this apparent state of things, and these obvious consequences, the republican party at Amsterdam, (having now recovered in a considerable degree from that overwhelming panic, into which the unequalled celerity of the Prussian forces, and the admirable dispositions made by the duke of Brunswick had thrown them) made every preparation for the most desperate resistance. The surrounding country was laid under water; strong batteries every where erected; all those

those posts capable of commanding the roads leading into the town intrenched and fortified; and the citizens declared they would hold out to the last extremity.

We have already seen that the duke of Brunswick was carrying on his approaches for the attack of Amstelveen, as general Kalkreuth was against Ouderkerk, two fortified villages and important posts lying within four or five miles of Amsterdam. In this crisis of danger, a deputation arrived (Sept. 25,) from the regency of Amsterdam, requiring a cessation of hostilities from the duke, until the terms of accommodation, which they were empowered by their constituents to offer, should be considered. A short truce was accordingly granted, and the business of negotiation transferred to the Hague.

The negotiation being broken off, and the truce expiring on the 30th of September in the evening, the duke of Brunswick, fully sensible of the great importance of rapid action in military affairs, took his measures for an attack on the enemy's barrier early on the following morning. In order to render the alarm and consternation general and effective, he not only ordered all the posts to be attacked at the same instant, but that each should be attacked in every quarter that it was possible to be approached. For this purpose, three different attacks were directed against Amstelveen, four against the works of Ouderkerk, one on the Duyvendregter Brug, one on Diemerbrug, one on Muyden, and the last on Half Wegen. Some of these were evidently feints; as the nature of the dykes either rendered them absolutely impracticable, or the posts were not of sufficient value to justify the loss of blood which their acquisition must occasion.

All the other out-posts, finding that the Prussian forces were approached so closely to Amsterdam as to cut off their communication with it, and thinking all resistance fruitless, were shortly given up without firing a shot. In the mean time, the magistrates of that city, in order to conceal the real state of affairs from the people, took advantage of the Prussians being foiled or repulsed in several of the attacks, to boast of a victory.

But

But they were so sensible themselves of the danger of their situation, that they sent deputies on the next morning to the duke to desire a cessation of arms, in order to afford time for settling the terms of capitulation. This proposal was immediately acceded to by the duke; but, to guard against the instability of their councils, and the violences of a numerous and heated populace, he made his approaches close to the city, on that side where the long suburb of Overtoom stretches into the country from the Leyden Gate, for more than a mile to the south-west. An elevated ground on the left of this suburb, afforded a convenient place for the erection of batteries, from whence, if the necessity of affairs should require so destructive a measure, that great city would in every part be subjected to a bombardment.

It soon appeared that the duke's precautions were not unnecessary, and that the impressions of terror soon weaken by time, and still more by a familiarity with the objects which occasioned them. The demands or conditions proposed by the magistracy were so high as to be deemed inadmissible. They demanded that the people should be admitted to a share in the government of Amsterdam, by allowing them to vote in the election of magistrates—that they should not be disarmed—that the magistrates in office should not be displaced—that no garrison should enter the city—that no orange ribbons should be worn in it—and, that a general indemnity should be granted to all persons who had taken refuge in Amsterdam. It is not easy to preserve a serious countenance, at seeing the article about orange ribbons inserted in those conditions, on which might possibly have depended the existence of one of the greatest cities of the world.

In the mean time, the magistracy of Amsterdam issued a sort of protest, (October 3,) under the form of a proclamation, in which they informed the burghers, that they had ever conscientiously endeavoured to act, to the utmost of their power, in every measure, for the advantage of their country in general, and of that city in particular; that

nevertheless, being now pressed by the impending danger that threatens the total ruin of the city, they find themselves compelled by necessity to submit to measures, which, they call God to witness, are only extorted from them, lest they should at last be forced to yield to demands still more ruinous and oppressive—That, since they must yield up all, their last wish was to be able to preserve the internal peace of that great and populous city, the welfare of which was more precious to them, not only than the preservation of their respective property, and the honourable employments they held, but even than their lives. They therefore hoped and expected, that the brave burghesses, who had hitherto acted with such laudable zeal in support of the public cause, would continue with the same zeal to maintain and insure the public tranquillity, and to preserve every individual, of what party soever, from all violence and oppression. These sentiments were full of dignity and moderation, and such as became men who submitted to necessity without abandoning the principles of their resistance, and without reserving a pretence to renew it.

But the burghers not being so sensible of the imminent danger of their situation as the magistracy, refused to comply with the terms on which they were willing to give up the city, and would have urged the duke to the extremity of bombardment, if his temper had been less eminent than his valour and conduct. He, however, thought it necessary to seize the suburb of Overtoom, where he fixed his head-quarters, to push his approaches to the very walls, to surround the city closely on the land side, and to make every preparation for an assault.

These measures succeeded, and on the 6th of October, the deputies of Amsterdam having joined the assembly of the states of Holland at the Hague, and thereby rendered their number complete, they assented to and confirmed all the resolutions which had been passed during their absence, from the 17th of September, by that body. This was nearly conclusive. The satisfaction demanded by the princess of Orange was immediately decreed, and she sent a list of sixteen persons, whom she wished

wished to be rendered incapable of creating future troubles in the state, by a deprivation of their respective offices ; but disclaiming every desire of their undergoing any other punishment on her account. In this list were included the principal and most violent leaders of the republican party ; among whom was the celebrated Van Berkel, and two other pensionaries of Amsterdam, besides M. de Witt, magistrate of that city ; M. Van Gyzalaer, the pensionary of Dordrecht ; the pensionaries of Haarlem ; and the principal magistrates of Alkmaer, Woerden, Gouda, and some other towns. The states of Holland likewise restored to their seats the deposed members of the regency in Amsterdam and other places, as well as the legal officers of the militia in the former. These changes were hardly borne by the burghers and populace in Amsterdam, and gave occasion to some disorders and riots.

Amsterdam, besides consenting to all the resolutions passed by the states, was obliged to annul the prohibition of orange ribbons, and to consent to the disarming of all persons in the town except the legal militia, whether under the denomination of patriots, volunteers, auxiliaries, or troops or refugees from Utrecht. This was not only a grievous mortification, but it became a matter of no small difficulty in the execution, to deprive of their arms and cartridges so great and so mixed a multitude ; nor, if the business had even been willingly undertaken, would it have been easy to find them out in the concealments which such a city afforded. The duke of Brunswick was accordingly more than once obliged to insist peremptorily upon the due observance of this condition, and at length to demand the giving up of the Leyden Gate to the Prussian troops, in order that they might facilitate its performance.

The 10th of October was the fatal day, that the haughty city of Amsterdam, which had so often given the law to other states, and to powerful nations, was condemned to surrender its keys to the duke of Brunswick, to behold a foreign garrison in possession of one of its principal and maiden gates, and in effect masters of the whole.

A sin-

A singular story is related upon this occasion, and affirmed to be a fact; that when the deputies had signed the capitulation, they made it a request to the duke, that none of the English officers, who were volunteers in the army, should be allowed to be present when the troops took possession of the gate.

On the day that the Leyden Gate was delivered to the Prussians, great riots took place between the exasperated members of the opposite parties in different parts of the city, in which some blood was shed. The Jews, who had shown the most unanimous and inviolable attachment to the stadtholder's cause, were particularly sufferers upon this occasion. In the mean time, the magistracy applied to the states of Holland for a garrison, to answer the double purpose of preserving or restoring the peace of the city, and of affording an opportunity for the departure of the Prussian troops, who, notwithstanding the admirable order and discipline they observed, were exceedingly terrible to a people, who, besides their being foreigners, had not been used to the military appearance they exhibited.

A regiment of Swiss, the Orange Nassau regiment, with the horse guards from the Hague, and a few other troops, amounting to between two and three thousand men, was the garrison now allotted to Amsterdam. The sullen indignation shown by the republican party, upon the introduction of this garrison, does them no discredit. Confining themselves to their houses, they disdained to look at the marks of their disgrace and the instruments of their subjection; and, while the troops marched through the streets, the very women and children of the party repressed that strong curiosity so natural to both, by refraining from going to the windows to behold a sight so novel and so disgraceful. For a conquest gained over citizens by foreign troops, is, even to the successful party, a triumph mixed with considerable alloy. The measure of calling in foreign force to decide domestic differences, if ever it is to be resorted to, is always to be lamented; since the vanquished party are treated, not as honourable enemies, but as culprits, by a power to which

which they are not naturally amenable, while the conquering party must partake of the servitude which it helps to impose.

It is also necessary to relate here some of the causes which produced the late discontents of the Netherlands. Although the inhabitants of those countries consented to the first innovations made by the emperor, in the suppression of some of those ecclesiastical orders or establishments which were regarded as most unnecessary or useless: yet, when they saw the headlong strides he was taking to the overthrow of the whole, they conceived at once that his object was not to reform but to plunder; and that he aimed at grasping the whole of this immense property for the purposes of establishing despotism at home, and the gratification of an insatiable ambition abroad.

The harsh, austere, and arbitrary spirit, which was manifested in the first innovation, tended rather to cherish than to allay the discontents which those extraordinary measures caused.

The disposal that was made of the lands belonging to the suppressed convents, was contrary to the assurances which had been made at the commencement of these suppressions. Instead of applying the produce of these lands to useful and public establishments, the court of Vienna considered them as part of the royal demesnes. The value of those already levied was estimated at more than a million sterling.

But the first day of the year 1787 was destined to make all past complaints and grievances appear of small account, if not entirely insignificant. Two imperial edicts were published on that day, which went to the direct subversion of all the tribunals, of the forms and course of civil justice, which had for so many centuries been established and pursued in the Low Countries; and which went in their tendency to the overthrow of that ancient and venerable constitution, which the people had so long considered as their glory, and regarded with an enthusiasm, which seemed to approach almost to idolatry.

Instead

Instead of these ancient tribunals, a supreme court was appointed to hold its seat at Brussels, whose jurisdiction extended over all the provinces. The Baron de Martini, an Italian, was sent to regulate this new tribunal, and to prescribe to a nation which had for so many ages gloried in the freedom, as well as the equity of its civil institutions, in what manner justice should be dispensed in future.

In this state of things, the eyes of all men were directed to the meeting of the states, and their minds suspended till they should hear their determination upon this subversion of their ancient laws and customs. This assembly was convened at Brussels, in the month of April, and soon relieved the minds of the people, by showing that the spirit of their ancestors was not yet extinct. When they were requested, in the name of the sovereign, to grant the customary subsidies, they totally refused to treat in any manner upon the subject of subsidies, until the grievances of the people were fully redressed.

The emperor, at this time, was at Cherson, and therefore the governors general of the Netherlands, alarmed at the prevailing discontents, agreed to a temporary redress of grievances, and made a public declaration that due reparation should be made for all infringements on the great charter, known by the name of the *Joyeuse Entrée*, which the people held so sacred. They expressed their hopes and wishes that the sovereign, upon his return, would ratify this declaration. This declaration produced the most unbounded joy among the people. But this joy was soon changed into the most violent indignation, upon its being propagated that the emperor was averse to ratifying the redress which the governor general had granted. In the beginning of July, the emperor returned to Vienna, but his return did not produce the expected ratification. He immediately despatched an angry mandate to the states of the Low Countries, in which, displaying all the terrors of offended majesty, he expressed in strong terms his astonishment and displeasure at those intemperate and violent proceedings which the states had adopted, and that bold defiance which they had

had given to his authority. Towards the end of July the princes and the governors general set out for Vienna; the deputies of the states also commenced their pilgrimage to Vienna about the same time; and the provinces now began to flatter themselves that this mark of submission would remove all suspicions of disloyalty, and procure that ratification which was now become the ultimate object of their hopes. But instead of acceding to the prayers of his Belgic subjects, the emperor ordered his forces to march to their frontiers to enforce his imperial will.

The despatches from Vienna arrived opportunely: By them information was received from the deputies, that the sovereign, having testified the displeasure which he thought suited to the dignity of his throne, had relaxed entirely from that austerity which had been exhibited at their first audience. That he had communicated to them sentiments favourable to their requests: After some intestine tumults had taken place, count Murray published by authority, a royal declaration, which restored the fundamental laws of the provinces, and the *joyeuse entrée* of Brabant. By this instrument the new tribunals were suppressed, and the ancient courts of judicature resumed their functions.

As the eventful revolution which took place in France about this time involved in its rapid progress the dearest interests of Britons, its history naturally becomes implicated with that of England, and therefore an account of the principal transactions which attended it, will, from time to time, be inserted in this work. The present portion of it will include the cause, rise, and progress of the revolution, till the tremendous fall of the *temple of despotism*, on the 14th of July 1789.

That France, a nation who had almost lost all remembrance of their own liberties, and that a crown which had for ages been establishing despotism, should become the champions of the American colonies, in their conflict to shake off the yoke of the parent country, afforded an ample field of the most arduous speculation to the profoundest politicians of the time.

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But when such an event did take place, it was not difficult to conceive, that a free intercourse and intimate connexion between people who had hitherto been in a great measure strangers, and who were accordingly pleased to discover better qualities in each other, than the local prejudices of mankind permitted them to expect, should produce a mutual communication of sentiments, and, as error and prejudice detreased, in many cases, an exchange of opinions. It was scarcely possible that so many thousand Frenchmen should have lived so many years in America, under all the vicissitudes of a common and dangerous war, in all the ease and festivity of a succeeding unexpected peace, and participating equally with the natives in the extremes of both, without their becoming in a considerable degree American. On the other hand, the rigid sectarists of Boston, forgetting that mortal aversion which they had so long borne to popery, were so much softened by an acquaintance with their new friends and guests, that they not only permitted but assisted at the most solemn service of that church for the dead, which they had ever before considered as an abomination scarcely inferior to idolatry.

It was to the honour of the French gentlemen who served by sea and land upon this occasion, that the minds of many of them being strongly tinged by letters and philosophy, they were accordingly disposed to examine, reflect upon, and apply the many new objects which now came within their immediate observation. Others, under the same description, were employed there in civil, diplomatique, and mercantile affairs; curiosity, pleasure, and private connexions, led others; and some, who were professedly philosophers, went thither to explore and to speculate upon, as it were, a new world, and new orders of mankind. It was impossible that these should not be struck by the excellency of that admirable original constitution, whose emanations could, at so great a distance, diffuse such glorious scenes of equality, security, and prosperity among mankind, as they now beheld.

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The intercourse which for several years has been continually increasing between France and England; the frequent visits paid by men of the first rank and quality, as well as the most brilliant talents, from the former to the latter; and perhaps, more than both, that passion for reading the works of the first English writers, as well upon the great subjects of government and philosophy, as upon those of a lighter nature, have combined in producing a singular revolution, not only among men of learning and speculatists, but even in the tide of popular opinion in that country. The predominancy of England in the affairs of Europe, the glory of our arms, and the extension of our dominion, by fixing the attention and exciting the admiration of other nations, has given rise to a spirit of imitation which disposes them to copy us in all things, but principally in that in which we are most distinguished, the form of our government. In France more especially, subjects were publicly and eagerly discussed, which before were either thought too dangerous to be meddled with, or which it was supposed a people so long and so often charged with being too frivolous for deep thinking, and too vain to profit by the thoughts of others, would not take the trouble to consider. The principles upon which governments were originally founded, the ultimate objects of their institution, with the relative rights and duties of the governors and of the governed, became subjects of common conversation among common men. But above all, the personal security afforded by the English constitution, and the right which every man possessed of appealing publicly to the laws and to the world, in all cases of grievance or oppression by power, were generally admired and envied; while *lettres de cachet*, and all other modes of imprisonment, banishment, or punishment, without legal trial and legal condemnation, were universally execrated.

But this disposition among the people might have been easily overlayered and smothered in its infancy, if the American war had not at the same time effectually provided for its nurture and growth. The minds of men

grow attached to those principles which the causes they are embarked in require them to maintain ; and as the necessity and long habit of referring to and insisting upon the rights of government, during the American contests, may in some degree have weakened the spirit of liberty amongst us, so the French nation, resorting more to provision and principle, by which the abuses of power are corrected, than those by which its energy is maintained, imbibed a love of freedom nearly incompatible with royalty. But it was owing to a secondary cause that the American war became instrumental to the revolution which has taken place in the affairs of that country. It involved the crown in such difficulties and distresses, as compelled it at length of necessity to throw itself for support upon the people ; thereby affording them such an opportunity for speaking, thinking, and acting freely, as (excepting the licentiousness of the civil wars) three centuries had not before shown to France.

For the illustration of this subject it may be necessary to premise, that the public debts of that kingdom had been exceedingly heavy, and its finances much embarrassed for many years back : That the intolerable burdens which war and ambition had laid upon the nation were continually increased by the enormous expenses of the crown, and the profusion that prevailed during the unequalled length of the two last reigns : That the weight and amount of the debts were only part of the public misfortune ; that the whole system of finance was in the last degree faulty and ruinous ; that the taxes were ill laid, and worse levied ; and that the farmers of the revenues, who made immense fortunes, were almost the only people who lived in splendour, while the bulk and the most valuable part of the nation were groaning in poverty.

The American war took place in this state of things ; and the people, in their zeal to support a new sovereign in his first war, forgot debts and taxes. The ostensible causes, and the understood private motives of the war, were all likewise alluring and highly captivating to the
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imaginations of a generous, a warlike, and even to a commercial people. It appeared great and heroic to rescue an oppressed people, who were gallantly contending for their rights, from inevitable ruin; it seemed a grand stroke of policy to reduce the power and to humble the pride of a great and haughty rival: The heavy blows received in the former war with England could not be forgotten; and however the wounds seemed to be skinned over by a peace so unaccountably favourable that the principles on which it was concluded are not yet perhaps understood, they still rankled in the breast of every Frenchman. Nothing could therefore be more flattering to the national pride than to suppose the happy opportunity was now arrived for erasing all the stigmas of that unfortunate period: Nor was this all, for as it was universally supposed that the loss of America would prove an incurable if not a mortal wound to England, so it was equally expected that the power of the Gallic throne would thereby be fixed on such permanent foundations, as never again to be shaken by any stroke of fortune; and to complete this pyramid of glory and advantage, commercial benefits before unknown, along with such an accession of naval strength as should command the seas, were to be derived from the new alliance and connexion with America. This speculation, like make many others, when tried by the test of dear-bought experience, came to nothing, and these fond hopes have already vanished in smoke. The nation were, however, so sanguine in them, that they entered into the war with unexampled appetite, and a common heart and a common hand appeared in its prosecution.

But though the American war failed in producing its wished-for effects with respect to France, it left behind it other relics of a less pleasing nature, which could not soon be forgotten. Through various causes, particularly from the novel manner in which it was conducted, its operations being mostly naval, and extended to the remotest quarters of the world, from the extreme poverty and urgent necessity of their new allies, and the prevalent spirit of the time, which led to the most un-

bounded supplies, under a persuasion that the money so laid out would be repaid in advantages to an hundred times its amount, the American war became the most expensive, for the time of its continuance, of any in which France probably had ever been engaged; and this expense was the more ruinous in its effect, from the circumstance that a great part of this money was sunk at such distances from home, or laid out in commodities doubly perishable, through nature and through hostility, that there was little prospect of its ever returning. From this war, then, an immense new debt being laid upon the back of the old, already too great, the accumulation became so vast, that it seemed to swell beyond the common bounds of examination and inquiry.

This state of disorder and darkness was comparatively, however, only a small part of the public grievance. The taxes, numerous as they were, and ruinous in the last degree to the people, were totally unequal to the supply of the current expenses of the state, and to the discharge of the interest or annuities rising on the various funds. This deficiency was so great since the late war, that the whole amount of the revenues fell several millions sterling short of the demand in each year. New funds could not be raised, but the exigencies of the state must be supplied; and no means appeared for answering this purpose, but by withholding the payment of the annuities to the public creditors, for so great a sum as the amount of the deficiency. This ruinous measure could not but involve multitudes of people in the greatest distress and calamity; and besides raised great clamour and discontent, at the undue preference supposed to be given to those classes whose payments were not stopped.

In this disastrous state of public affairs, while financier succeeded financier, and projects multiplied upon projects, each new minister attributed the public evils to the fault of his predecessor, and had his own favourite scheme of arrangement, which was to remove them all. This produced a cessation of the murmurs of the public while the short sunshine of hope lasted; but only served

to redouble their grief and indignation, when they found that every attempt at elucidation only served to thicken the obscurity, and that every hope of redress ended in an increase of the evils.

The pecuniary difficulties of the state have, in many countries, and particularly in England, made it necessary for monarchs to apply to the collective resources and collective councils of their people. The modification of regal authority, and the admission of the public into a participation of that authority, has generally been attended with consequences easy and happy to both. Few kings however have had recourse to this expedient, until they had exhausted every other means of supply; they most commonly visited their subjects after the adoption of irregular or violent measures for increasing the revenue they already possessed, and thus lost the merit of a generous reliance on the approbation and affection of their people, seeming rather to be driven to them by necessity than to turn to them through choice. The public were solemnly called in to the council of the monarch, and desired to judge for themselves in a concern of such great and general importance. A great step, not to the forms but to the substance of public liberty, and perhaps the greatest advance that ever was made by a king towards the establishment of a free constitution. With more or less regularity this system has been pursued ever since, until by its natural operation, combined with the growing necessities of the government, it led to the calling of the assembly of the *Notables*, and from thence to a more universal application to the sense of the nation.

Although so much time has elapsed since the last convocation of the states general, that those assemblies were almost obsolete, yet the French nation never wholly lost sight of that remnant of their ancient constitution. Their wisest patriots, and the most spirited of their governors, have often looked back to that antique and salutary remedy. In that period of mixed insurrection and tyranny, joined to foreign glory, which distinguished the dominion of cardinal Richelieu, the nation was never in the condi-

dition, in the temper, or in the necessity of deliberating in common. During the troubles which attended the minority of Louis XIVth, the queen regent often talked of calling the states general. The splendour, the vicissitudes of that reign, are well known; the unlimited power of the monarch, and the troubled scenes in which he wound up the glories of his life. The duke of Burgundy, the pupil of the author of *Telemachus*, to whom his grandfather had begun to delegate a portion of his authority, on whom the fondest hopes of the nation turned, and who promised to unite the qualities of a christian, a philosopher, and a king, had certainly formed a design, among many other projects for the advantage of the state, and the relief of his people, to convene the states. He dying prematurely, power, on the demise of Louis the XIVth, fell into hands of a different stamp. It is not improbable that the veneration in which the character of this prince remained in the memory of the French, and particularly of his family, infused similar sentiments into the mind of the late dauphin (the son of Louis the XVth) who formed himself upon the model of the duke of Burgundy. The reverence, approaching to adoration, which the present king of France entertains for the opinions and attachments of his father, was supposed to be the ruling principle of his character and conduct. It is therefore a curious and not an improbable speculation to suppose, that the approximation to the body of the nation, and leaning to public councils, which, whether wisely or not, whether fortunately or not, distinguished this reign, had their origin in those remote and successive causes. And if so, it is a matter worthy of contemplation to consider, how the thoughts, writings, and actions of those who are dead many years, affect the revolutions of the present day.

It became however a matter of difficulty in what manner to obtain the sense or aid of the nation in the present exigence. The ancient assemblies of the states of the kingdom had been so long disused, that not only their forms were worn out of memory, but the extent of their rights and powers were so much unknown, that all information

formation upon the subject was either to be sought amidst the rubbish of the antiquarian, or in the obscure and faithless pages of vague and ill-informed historians, who were much sonder of relating prodigies, than of preserving those records of mankind which would have been most essential to futurity. It was still however generally known, that the ancient assemblies of the states resembled the English parliaments in the greatest and most essential point of their constitution, which was the power of granting the public money for the public services, or of withholding it, if the purpose for which it was required by the crown did not appear to them consonant or necessary to the advantage of the state.

In this state of darkness, without a compass to steer by, the first effort made by the court for the accomplishment of its purpose, was to summon a convention of principal persons, from the different classes of the people, and from all the parts of the kingdom, who were to receive from the king a communication of his intentions for the relief of his subjects, information on the present state of the finances, and to consider of and to provide remedies against several abuses; the king resting assured, that he should receive from them every assistance which he had a right to expect for the good of the kingdom, which was the only object he had in view.—The members of this assembly were distinguished by the appellation of *notables*, being the same name which had been applied to another convention of the same nature, which had been held in the year 1626.

A circular letter to this purpose, signed by the king, was accordingly despatched, Dec. 29th, 1786, to all those persons who had been appointed to act as members of this convention; they being summoned to assemble at Versailles on the 29th of January 1787, there to take their seats, and to hear such matters as should be proposed to them in the king's name.

The sickness and death of that able minister, M. de Vergennes, whose political intrigues and extensive views, joined to a very intimate knowledge of the respective strength or weakness of foreign states, and of those in-
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visible springs of action by which they might be swayed or divided, occasioned the meeting of the new convention to be suspended from the 29th of January to the 22d of the ensuing February. In the mean time the marquis de Montmorin, who had been long initiated in the political principles and designs of the count de Vergennes, was, at his own special recommendation, appointed to be his successor as minister for foreign affairs.

The king went in the greatest magnificence, accompanied by the princes of the blood, and attended by all the great officers of the state and household, to dignify the opening of the new assembly of the notables.

In laying before this body the various matters which were to become the subjects of their deliberation, it was necessary that the minister should give a satisfactory explanation of those causes which opened the way to the present state of public embarrassment and distress. In doing this, M. de Calonne, with proper address, endeavoured to make a favourable impression on the disposition of his audience, by showing the pleasing and bright side of the picture, before he was under a necessity of exhibiting the reverse. With this view, in his introductory speech, he enumerated the various great and glorious, as well as patriotic and beneficial acts of the present reign. In this summary, he particularly attributed to the king the creating of a marine, and thereby rendering the French flag respectable over every part of the ocean; his having protected and confirmed the liberties of a new nation, which, being separated from a rival power, was now become a friend and ally; and, after having terminated an honourable war by a solid peace, had shown himself worthy to be considered as the moderator of all Europe. —That his majesty had not then given himself up to a barren inaction; he was too sensible how much still remained to be done for the happiness of his subjects; and that, the assuring to his people a free and extensive commerce abroad, the procuring a good administration at home, with the encouragement and establishment of useful arts and manufactures, were the objects of his inviolable pursuit, and should ever continue the point to which his

his views would be directed. The three new treaties of commerce, concluded with Holland, England, and Russia, were brought as illustrations of these positions.

After this exordium, which he dwelt on with complacency, the minister had to turn to the disagreeable part of the business. He entered into long details, to show the deplorable state in which he found the finances when he was entrusted with their administration, at the close of the American war. A vast unfunded debt; all annuities and interest greatly in arrear; all the coffers empty; the public stocks fallen to the lowest point; circulation interrupted, and all credit and confidence destroyed. He then showed the measures which he had pursued, and the happy effects they had produced (so far as his means could reach) in remedying these complicated evils. Through these efforts public credit was re-established, the stocks brought a fair price at market, money was plenty, and the *Caisse d'Escompte* (a kind of national bank) had now established its credit upon a firm basis. Great and expensive public works, of the utmost national importance and utility, had likewise been undertaken, and were now far advanced towards completion; it would be needless to repeat to that assembly what had been done, and was doing, with respect to the harbours of Cherburgh, Havre, Rochelle, and Dunkirk.

But with all these pleasant circumstances and favourable appearances, an evil still remained behind of the most alarming and ruinous nature; an evil which must every year increase in its magnitude, and at length become fatal in its effect, if not timely remedied. This was the great annual deficiency of the public revenue, with respect to the supply of the current public expense. This was an evil which went far beyond the reach of ministers, and baffled all schemes of industry and œconomy. Eternal borrowing would necessarily be an eternal aggravation of the evil; additional taxes would oppress the people, whom the king wished of all things to relieve; anticipation on the revenue of subsequent years had already been carried to a ruinous extent; and with respect to œconomy, and the reform

reform of expenses, the king had already, not only with respect to his household, but to other departments, carried these points as far as could be done, without weakening the state and government.—It was then in the reform of abuses, that the king and his ministers trusted principally to find resources for exonerating the crown and the nation from this intolerable grievance and evil. In the abuses themselves would be found a great fund which the king had a right to reclaim. This was a subject whose importance necessarily demanded all the collected wisdom, attention, and sagacity of the assembly, and it was accordingly recommended in the strongest terms to their deliberation.

Among the objects particularly recommended to their inquiry and consideration, was the state of the Gallic territorial imposts, and the establishment of a general and equal impost on land (in the nature of the English land-tax) from which no rank or order of men was to be exempted. It was said, that the establishment of this tax would have occasioned a defalcation in the revenues of the duke of Orleans only, of forty thousand pounds sterling a year; and it was farther said (to his immortal honour, if founded) that he would not have opposed it.

Another object of inquiry and discussion was afforded by the possessions of the clergy, and their exemption from taxation.—The state of the various branches of internal taxation was another object of inquiry.—And the raising of money by mortgaging the demesne lands of the crown, formed a fourth subject of consideration. But the grand and essential object of reform, and that which the court had particularly at heart, was to equalize the public burthens, by rendering the taxes general, which would have made them bearable, and comparatively easy, instead of their falling upon the lower and most useful classes of the people, to the discouragement and ruin of enterprise and industry, whether with respect to manufactures or agriculture. The ancient nobility and the clergy had ever been free from all public assessments; and, considering this as one of their most distinguished and enviable privileges, it was of course the most difficult to be resigned.

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Had the evil gone no farther, notwithstanding the present weight of taxes, it might have been still perhaps borne with patience, from the mischief it produced being narrowed within certain fixed and customary limits. But through the shameful custom of selling patents of nobility, such crowds of new noblesse started up, that every province in the kingdom was filled with them; for the first object with those who had acquired fortunes rapidly, whether by the oppression of the people, or by speculation from the public, in the collection or management of the revenues, was, next to the purchase of an estate, that of a patent, which, besides the gratification of a vanity so peculiarly predominant with such people, afforded an exemption to them and their posterity from a proportionable contribution to the exigencies of the state, or alleviating the distresses of that public on whose spoils they had fattened. The magistracies likewise throughout the kingdom, enjoyed their share of these exemptions; so that the whole weight of the taxes fell upon those who were least able to bear them.

This design of equalizing the public burthens was undoubtedly great and noble; but how the minister could think of any project succeeding, which in its very nature united the three great bodies of the nation, the nobility, the clergy, and the magistracy, in one common interest against him, is not easily understood. That much public spirit and virtue were lodged in many individuals of all these classes, was not to be questioned; but it would argue little knowledge of mankind, to suppose that these sentiments could operate upon a majority in any of them.

The event was such as might have been expected. An universal clamour was raised against the minister. The people were taught to believe that he intended to load them with new taxes; and thus the blind and giddy multitude were rendered an instrument in the hands of their hereditary oppressors, for the ruin of the first minister who had ever attempted to do them any essential service. Such has in general, but unfortunately, been the reward of those who without having established a previous confidence, which is indeed seldom gained without the aid of some specious

specious deception) have attempted to serve the people at large. Effectual measures were at the same time used at the fountain head, for loosening the king's confidence in the minister, which probably would have been sufficiently shaken without by the public clamour.

The minister, M. Calonne, finding it impossible to withstand the torrent, or in any manner to cover himself from the obloquy which was poured upon him from all quarters, not only found it necessary to resign his office, in the middle of the sitting of the notables, but to retire to England for refuge, from that storm of persecution which he saw gathering with the most malignant aspect. This happened pretty early in April; and after some temporary appointments, M. de Brienne, archbishop of Thoulouse, was about a month after appointed to be his successor.

The proposed territorial impost, or general land-tax, which was an object so ardently coveted by the court, produced much debate, and little agreement, in the assembly of the notables. Besides the particular and individual interests by which it was opposed, whole provinces objected to it, as a direct infraction of their rights, and a violation of those original capitularies which they had entered into with the crown, for the preservation of their ancient immunities, and on the faith of which they became members of the kingdom. Upon this subject the attorney general of Provence was bold enough to declare, that neither that assembly, the parliaments, nor the king himself, could assess any such impost in the country which he represented, as being directly contrary to the specific and indefeasible rights of the people.

Under these circumstances it became every day more apparent, that the present convention was unequal to the greater objects for which it was assembled, and that nothing less than an assemblage of the states general of the kingdom, assisted by the instruction or advice of the respective provincial states, particularly in all that related to their own peculiar rights and privileges, could effectually remove the present grievances, by such permanent arrangements of the public revenues and expenses, to be

always under their own control, as should render the crown for the future easy in its pecuniary affairs, and the burthens of the people to sit as light as their nature could admit.

Many useful regulations and reforms were however proposed by the convention of notables, and adopted by the court, both with respect to several of the taxes and gabelles themselves, to the mode of levying them, to the persons employed in the collection, and to the boards or offices which were to regulate and govern the assessments. But as these reached only to parts, and to the removal of the more glaring and obvious grievances, they only served to show more clearly the necessity of such an efficient power as would be finally conclusive, and acting upon a system of reform so comprehensive, as to embrace the whole aggregate of grievance and evil.

But whatever the future good effects might be to the nation, the crown was grievously disappointed with respect to the great object for which it had summoned this convention, the obtaining immediate relief for its present most urgent necessities; particularly the failure of raising 112 millions of livres upon the expected territorial imposts (which the ministers held out as a matter of such indispensable necessity, that government could scarcely otherwise exercise its necessary functions) could not but be greatly distressing.

The king, however, bore the disappointment with such admirable temper, that the convention and he parted with every appearance of the most perfect confidence and good humour on both sides. In his speech, (May 25th), on dissolving the assembly, he acknowledged, that they had fulfilled his expectations in assisting him with their counsels, and delivering their sentiments with that freedom and truth which he was ever willing to hear. That he was thoroughly satisfied with their indefatigable zeal and attention in examining the objects he had communicated or recommended to them. That they had not only properly inquired into various abuses, but had suggested the means for reforming them. That they had done much towards the attainment of the grand object, of reducing

the expenses of the state to a level with the public revenues, by the accurate inquiry which they made into the deficiencies and their causes, by pointing out the different oeconomic savings which might properly be effected, and in affording time for the effect to operate, by the temporary provisional taxes which for the intermediate time they had recommended as the most proper to be laid upon his subjects. He concluded by declaring the great comfort he had in thinking, that the form and method of these new imposts would not be so burthensome as those of former times; the only wish of his heart being that of rendering his people as contented and as happy as possible.

Thus was a most unexpected opening made towards the restoration of the ancient Gallic constitution; a constitution, however defective in some respects it might be, which, in common with other feudal governments, lodged the sole power of granting or withholding subsidies, and consequently of levying imposts upon the people, entirely in the hands of the states of the kingdom collectively assembled. This constitution was first severely shaken through the disorders and confusion which the last long and bloody wars carried on by the English in the heart of the kingdom occasioned; for they afforded an opportunity to Charles VII. or indeed laid him under a necessity, of raising money upon the subject, for the common defence, at his own will. This example was followed up, and nearly carried to its utmost extent, by his crafty and arbitrary successor, Louis the XIth; but though the constitution was laid prostrate, it was not absolutely deprived of existence, until it received its mortal wound under the hands of that able, successful, wicked, and cruel statesman, cardinal Richelieu, in the reign of Louis the XIIIth, whose crooked policy, the more effectually to secure his purpose, nearly extinguished the ancient nobility, reducing to beggary those who escaped the sword or the scaffold, and thereby laying the spirit of the nation in the dust.

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parliaments of the kingpom, and had been the means of shedding a lustre and dignity on their proceedings, and of affording them a weight with the public, from whence they were enabled to derive a degree of consequence founded on opinion, which far transcended the powers they were invested with in their original constitution. For these bodies which were mere courts of justice, being now the only intermediate authority between the sovereign and the people, were naturally looked up to by these, as their only shield against the violence and oppression of the crown; while the kings themselves were fully sensible of the benefit of such a medium, in giving a sanction to the taxes which their prodigality, or the occasions of government, incessantly demanded, or at least of taking off some part of the odium arising from them.

The parliament held the office of registering the king's edicts; by which nothing more was probably at first understood or intended, than to establish their validity. In process of time, however, and by seizing favourable opportunities, the parliaments endeavoured to convert (and in a great measure succeeded) this act of mere registry, into a right of examining into, and determining upon the propriety of the ordinances which thus came before them, and from thence assumed an absolute negative upon the money edicts, by refusing to register those which did not meet their approbation. This assumption of power was supported by the popularity necessarily attending all opposition to pecuniary impositions, the parliaments having the advantage of appearing in the light of protectors to the people, without being implicated in any of the harsh and severer duties of government. Their resistance of fiscal edicts became accordingly a source of frequent and great disputes with the crown, in which sometimes the one and sometimes the other side gave way, according to the state of things, and the temper prevalent on either; the parliaments in several instances braving all the indignation of the crown, and enduring with wonderful fortitude, banishment, imprisonment, degradation from the exercise of their functions, and in some cases total ruin to their families by the final loss of their places, all of which they had

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had purchased, and were virtually their private estates. All these contests necessarily tended to endear the parliaments more to the people (who considered them as martyrs in the cause of the public), and to increase their consequence with the crown.

It is then easily understood, that the restoration of the ancient constitution, and the frequent assemblage of the states general, would in a great measure deprive the parliaments of the authority which they had assumed and acquired during the long remission of those meetings; that they would dwindle into their original state of mere registers and courts of law; and that the people would soon be weaned from that affection and reverence with which they had so long regarded them; a consequence which would have been more sensibly felt by generous minds, than the mere loss of authority abstractedly considered.

Under these circumstances, nothing less than the most disinterested patriotism, could induce the parliaments to wish for, much less in any degree to further such a revolution in the state and government, however great its utility to the public in general might be; for to suppose that a majority in any numerous assembly should adopt the generous resolutions of making such sacrifices, was to suppose such degrees of exalted virtue and self-denial to prevail in the breasts of men, as no modern experience could warrant either the politician or moralist in expecting.

Yet, to the honour of that assembly, the parliament of Paris, who are no representatives of the people, who owe them no obligation, and who are not accountable to them for any part of their conduct; displayed this exalted virtue. The question of petitioning the king to assemble the general states had been twice proposed, and twice negatived, after the breaking up of the notables; the patriotic minorities were however very considerable on each division. These, still persevering in their intention, seized the fair opportunity which fortune offered, of new disputes arising between the crown and the parliament, upon the subject of new taxes, which were proposed by the former, and refused

fused by the latter. At that juncture, while the minds of men were warmed by the contest, and apprehensive of the exertions of power that might be adopted, they brought on the question again, and nobly carried it by a majority of sixty to forty; upon which sixteen deputies were immediately appointed to convey the petition in form, and with the greater effect, to the king.

The notables not having afforded any relief that could at all supply the immediate urgent necessities of government, the crown was obliged to recur to its usual mode of raising money by the king's edicts. Among the measures proposed for this purpose, was the doubling of the poll-tax, the re-establishment of the third-twentieth, and a stamp duty. But though subsidies were indispensable, the king was willing to gratify the parliament in the manner of raising them. The parliament, however, remonstrated strongly against the whole; insisting, that before they granted, or concurred in raising any money, a true account of the state of the finances, and of the purposes to which it was to be applied, should be laid before them. The tax upon stamps became the immediate object of contention; and it seemed as if it would have been attended with consequences here, little inferior to those which a tax of the same nature had so signally produced in another part of the world. The parliament refused to register the edict, and the king was obliged to apply, as the last resort, to his absolute authority, by holding what is called a bed of justice, in compelling them to that measure.

It was upon this occasion that the count d'Artois, the king's youngest brother, who had before stood favourably in the public opinion, forfeited his popularity. The first president of the parliament having in a very spirited speech declared the causes upon which that body grounded their refusal of registering the stamp tax, that prince uttered passionately, that "if he were king they should comply;" upon which the president, making a low bow, replied, "If you were king, I should say what I have done now; my heart is the people's, my understanding is my own, and my head is the king's."

On the day after the registry of the edict, (Aug. 7th) the parliament entered a formal protest, endued with a new and extraordinary extent of operation, against this concession which had been extorted from them. They declared, that it had been registered against their approbation and consent, by the king's express command; that the edict neither ought to, nor should have any force; and that the first person who should presume to attempt carrying it into execution, should be adjudged a traitor, and condemned to the galleys. This direct opposition of the parliament of Paris to the king's edict and authority, by which the one was rendered a nullity, and the other questioned in a manner that reached to its very existence, was the more alarming and formidable from its receiving the sanction of all the other parliaments.

Things were now in such a situation, that the crown was under an absolute necessity of either proceeding to extremities in the support of its authority, or of giving up for evermore the power of raising money upon any occasion, however immediate or urgent, without the consent of the parliament. No prince could have found it easy to surrender an authority which had been so long exercised by his predecessors. In the mean time, every thing bore a very unpleasing aspect, both with respect to the court and the people. Paris had, since the commencement of the disputes, been so filled with troops, that it carried more the appearance of a military camp, under military law, than that of a great and peaceable capital, under the government of a civil magistracy, and its own municipal laws. All the avenues to the *Palais*, where the different chambers of parliament held their meetings, were particularly and continually occupied by soldiers; and the members had the satisfaction of passing through rows of bayonets, in the way to and from their dwelling houses. Indeed the Parisians afforded in some degree a colour for this measure, by the extraordinary and before unheard-of licence which they assumed in words, in writing, and in acting, upon public and political affairs. The interest which they now took in these matters was so great, and they expressed themselves with such freedom
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upon them, that a stranger, if it had not been for the presence of the troops, might well have imagined himself surrounded by republicans. This licence was carried to such a length by the populace, that even a military force could not protect the count d'Artois (who had the fortune of doing several late things that rendered him disagreeable) from meeting with the strongest marks of public indignation and aversion; at the same time that Monsieur, the king's next brother, by pursuing a different line of conduct, was loaded with praises and benedictions whenever he appeared.

In about a week after the parliament had entered the protest, an officer of the French guards, with a party of soldiers, went at break of day to the house of each individual member, to signify to him the king's command, that he should immediately get into his carriage and proceed to Troyes, without writing or speaking to any person out of his own house before his departure. These orders being served upon all at the same instant, and carried into immediate execution, all disorder was thereby to effectually prevented, that the parliament was well on its way to the scene of banishment, before the Parisians knew any thing of what had happened. Troyes is a considerable city of Champagne, which lies about seventy miles from Paris.

Before matters were carried to this extremity, a remonstrance had, in the latter end of July, been presented to the king from the parliament; a piece, which, whether it be considered with respect to eloquence, force of reasoning, or public spirit, has not been exceeded, perhaps equalled, by any similar document in modern times; and which must prove a standing monument, not only of the virtue and patriotism, but of the uncommon abilities which were comprised in that illustrious body.

They first observe, that after a glorious peace of five years, and a great increase of revenue for thirteen, (through the funds then assigned) it was generally hoped, that the name of *impost* should never again be heard of from the lips of a benevolent monarch; excepting only in rendering it less onerous, and in diminishing the number of those

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already laid. What was then their astonishment when they were informed that new taxes were projecting by the notables! But how much greater still was it when they heard that a new one of a most distressing and pernicious kind, was to be offered for the approbation of parliament!—And, they declared, that the bare proposal of a duty on stamped paper, had already alarmed every individual in the nation.

They stated, with equal force and eloquence, the interested motives which operated upon ministers and courtiers in preventing truth from approaching the throne; and in showing every thing to the monarch through a delusive and false medium. That if any system of œconomy or reform was, however, proposed, the whole tribe immediately echoed the words from one to another, and seemed to embrace it with the greatest eagerness; at the same time that all their art and industry was used to throw such difficulties in the way as should prevent its success, and thereby excite a distaste to all future attempts of the same nature. To such sinister proceedings, and to a continued course of such deception and imposition, they, without reserve, attributed all the distresses of the state, and all the evils and misfortunes of the nation.—They reminded the king how they had strove, in the years 1784 and 1785, to give him a faithful picture of the real situation of the state; his parliament then did every thing in their power, but in vain, to place truth in its clearest light; they saw that the terrible situation of public affairs required an immediate and efficacious remedy; but the ministers had too great an interest in concealing the truth to suffer it to prevail; all their endeavours accordingly proved fruitless; and some of his council went so far as to induce him to suspect the purity of their patriotic intentions.

They endeavour to draw in the passions as auxiliaries to reason and argument. The notables, they say, had withdrawn the veil that covered an undermining administration: A dreadful spectacle presented itself to the eye of an astonished nation. They then represent with much pathos, the grievous sensations which must have afflicted the monarch's paternal heart at such a discovery!

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How, say they, must your astonishment and sorrow have increased, when you reflected on the fatal errors in which you had so long been purposely involved by your ministers!—Such is the consequence, sire, when the choice of ministers falls on persons that are obnoxious to the nation in general: Such is the great but sad example that shows to sovereigns the respect due to public opinion, seldom susceptible of error, because mankind collectively seldom gives or receives an impression contrary to truth. They oppose to this the narrow and interested views of intriguing and greedy courtiers. They show, in a department where the purest hands are seldom pure enough, the circumstances that nearly compel a minister to depart from his rectitude. The first wrong step inevitably leads to others; no limits can circumscribe the minister who once swerves from his duty; abuses rise upon abuses, until the disorder becomes fatal; or, if a remedy can yet be found, the cure, however certain, must be difficult and tedious. They state the facility with which evil takes place, and the long continuance of its effect; for though it be only in a single instance, whole years may be found scarcely sufficient to remedy the mischiefs which it occasions. And they call upon the king to pause awhile upon a salutary reflection, whose importance has been acknowledged by all good monarchs—that the vices of a bad administration, and their common consequence, the involuntary errors of a just monarch, may sorely entail distress upon future generations.

On the subject of taxes they declare, that all kinds of imposts should be proportioned to the necessary wants of the nation, and should end with them; that each citizen contributes a part of his property for the purpose of maintaining public safety and private tranquillity; that the people, on such principles, founded on the rights of mankind, and confirmed by reason, should never increase their contributions, until the expenses of the state have undergone all the savings, alterations, and amendments, of which they are capable.—and they strongly asserted, that neither the parliaments, nor any other authority, saying only that proceeding from the united sense of the

already laid. What was then their astonishment when they were informed that new taxes were projecting by the notables! But how much greater still was it when they heard that a new one of a most distressing and pernicious kind, was to be offered for the approbation of parliament!—And, they declared, that the bare proposal of a duty on stamped paper, had already alarmed every individual in the nation.

They stated, with equal force and eloquence, the interested motives which operated upon ministers and courtiers in preventing truth from approaching the throne; and in showing every thing to the monarch through a delusive and false medium. That if any system of œconomy or reform was, however, proposed, the whole tribe immediately echoed the words from one to another, and seemed to embrace it with the greatest eagerness; at the same time that all their art and industry was used to throw such difficulties in the way as should prevent its success, and thereby excite a distaste to all future attempts of the same nature. To such sinister proceedings, and to a continued course of such deception and imposition, they, without reserve, attributed all the distresses of the state, and all the evils and misfortunes of the nation.—They reminded the king how they had strove, in the years 1784 and 1785, to give him a faithful picture of the real situation of the state; his parliament then did every thing in their power, but in vain, to place truth in its clearest light; they saw that the terrible situation of public affairs required an immediate and efficacious remedy; but the ministers had too great an interest in concealing the truth to suffer it to prevail; all their endeavours accordingly proved fruitless; and some of his council went so far as to induce him to suspect the purity of their patriotic intentions.

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nation in the three estates of the kingdom collectively assembled, could warrant the laying of any permanent tax upon the people.

Such are a few of the leading features of this able performance.

The stop put to public business, and the disorders occasioned by the banishment of the parliament, were so sensibly felt, and the dissatisfaction of the people upon that event was so great, that the crown could not long persevere in maintaining that hostile mark of its resentment. The court was also in itself so apparently weak and divided, and such continual changes taking place in the different departments of state, that it evidently wanted every thing which could confer dignity on its conduct, or afford stability to its measures. Some appearance of vigour was, however assumed by publishing an edict, by which the late resolutions of the parliament were declared to be illegal and null; but no measures being pursued to give effect to this edict, and no attempt made to enforce the taxes, it passed as nothing. But the turbulence of the Parisians was effectually curbed, by placing 12,000 troops as a guard upon them; and besides the continual patrols by night and day, subaltern officers, with small detachments of soldiers, were posted at the corners of all the streets. The king, in the mean while, under the hope of thereby mollifying the people, being employed in making continual retrenchments in his household and other departments.

It was in this course of things, that the measures pursued and preparations made by the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, clearly indicated their design of taking such a direct and active part in the affairs of Holland, as could not fail, without an opposition equally powerful, to be the means of restoring the stadtholder to his rights; and even of extending, if the combined powers should be so inclined, the authority of that prince to any pitch they might think proper in the government of the republic, so as perhaps to new-model or totally overthrow its constitution. Nothing could have been more embarrassing or more alarming to the court of Versailles, than this conduct
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of the new allies ; which was rendered still more so, by the untoward situation of affairs at home.

But if France had not even been clogged with any incumbrance at home to restrain her activity, she was not able singly to withstand the effects of this powerful union, which was already rendered more formidable by the measure adopted by Great Britain, of retaining 12,000 Hessian troops in her service, and her being besides capable of increasing her auxiliary force to an unknown amount, by the influence which money was sure to procure with other states of the empire. Nor would the intervention even of Spain in the contest (supposing that could be obtained, which is very doubtful) be sufficient to render the balance equal, considering the distance, and other circumstances, which must have rendered the aid of that power in a great degree inefficient, while it could not but be productive of much loss and danger to herself. The emperor alone might have turned the scale ; but besides that we have no certainty of the real cordiality subsisting between the two courts, he was so deeply involved in his own ambitious schemes, and so far engaged in the overwhelming projects of Russia, that it would not be more difficult to detach than to extricate him from them.

Upon advice some time after that England was equipping a strong squadron of men of war at Portsmouth, the court of Versailles sent orders to equip 16 sail of the line at Brest for immediate service ; and recalled at the same time a squadron of evolution, which was then exercising naval manoeuvres on the coast of Portugal. This was followed by the assembling of a body of troops at Givet, on the borders of Liege, by the Maes.

The courts of London and Berlin pursued their system steadily, without paying any other regard to the warlike preparations in France, than that of being in readiness to oppose them with effect. That of Great Britain presented a declaration to the neighbouring courts more immediately concerned, assigning the causes which rendered it necessary to that kingdom to pursue the measures which she had adopted in arming, and which particularly rested
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upon the notification made by France of her intention to support with her forces that party in Holland which had opposed the rights of the stadtholder, and which refused to give that satisfaction to the king of Prussia for the insult offered to his sister the princess of Orange, which he had so just a right to demand ; that his Britannic majesty could not consider the alliance between France and the whole republic as at all justifying her engagement to support a particular party in an affair expressly disavowed by the states general ; that he had repeatedly declared, that it was impossible for him to suffer with indifference the armed interposition of France in this affair, for that his toleration of it would produce consequences very dangerous, not only with respect to the constitution and independence of the United Provinces, but to the interests and safety of his own states ; but that though he had from these causes been under a necessity of equipping a considerable naval armament, and of increasing his land forces, he would still with pleasure preserve the blessings of peace to his own subjects as well as to the rest of Europe, if France would retract her resolution, and concur in settling the impaired affairs of the republic in an amicable manner, and according to an equitable arrangement of the contending interests.

The preparations for war were, however, still carried on with vigour on both sides ; but when the duke of Brunswick had in a few days over-run Holland, and totally overthrown the last hope of the republican party by the reduction of Amsterdam, France appeared in the discreditable situation of undertaking a war without a motive ; as the objects which might have justified or palliated the measure in their proper season were no longer in being, and vexation or revenge could only be assigned as a cause for its present adoption. Besides, the state of Holland had retracted their former application for succour, and given a formal notification at Versailles, that having now happily adjusted their affairs, there was no farther occasion for the friendly interposition of that court. The game in Holland was now likewise evidently up ; the republic had adopted a new system of policy ; and however
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mortifying it might be in the reflection, it was not now in the power of France to undo what was already done in that country, or by any means to recover her former influence.

Under these circumstances, and in the distracted state of her internal affairs, France had only to wish to get out of the present difficulty with the best grace she could, and to soften her warlike aspect as soon as the appearance of a similar disposition on the other side should afford a fair opportunity. As there was nothing now to quarrel about, unless it was the mere honour of fighting, this opportunity was soon offered by the duke of Dorset and Mr. Eden, the British ministers at Paris, who presented a declaration, (October 27th 1787), in which they observed, that as the affairs of the United Provinces no longer left any subject of discussion, and still less of contest between the two courts, they were authorised to ask, whether it was the intention of the king to carry into effect the notification made by his minister on the 16th of September, which, by announcing that succour would be given in Holland, had occasioned the naval armaments made by his Britannic majesty, and which had since become reciprocal?—that if the court of Versailles was disposed to explain itself on this subject, and upon the conduct to be observed towards the republic, in a manner conformable to the desire which had been expressed on both sides, of preserving the good understanding between both crowns; and it being likewise understood that there is no view of hostility towards any quarter in consequence of what has passed, their master, ever anxious to concur in the friendly sentiments of his most christian majesty, would agree with him, that the armaments, and all warlike preparations in general, should be discontinued on both sides, and that the navies of both nations should be again placed upon the footing of the peace establishment, as it stood on the first day of the present year.

This piece produced a counter-declaration, on the same day, signed by M. de Montmorin, the minister for foreign affairs, in which the French king declared, that he never had any intention of interfering by force in the affairs of

the republic; the notification was palliated, and it was acknowledged that the motives to it no longer existed. He declares, that he readily agrees to give no effect to it; concurs in the sentiments of his Britannic majesty for the preservation of the harmony between the two courts; and agrees with pleasure to the proposal that the armaments, and in general all warlike preparations, should be discontinued on both sides, and the navies placed upon the peace establishment proposed.—A short instrument, being in some sort a summary and confirmation of the foregoing documents, was then signed by all the parties, in the names of their respective sovereigns; and thus all occasions of difference for the present, between the two nations, were happily removed.

Having related the particulars of the negotiation between the courts of London and Versailles, the account of the revolution of France will now be resumed.

The urgent necessities of the state required extraordinary resources. On the 7th of November 1787, in a very full meeting of the parliament, the king entered the assembly, and proposed a new edict for their approbation, authorising a loan of four hundred and fifty millions of livres, or near nineteen millions sterling; and this was accompanied with one of a more popular nature, viz. an edict for the re-establishment of the protestants in all their civil rights.

A long and interesting debate ensued upon these proposals; but the king, wearied with a contest of nearly nine hours, and possibly chagrined at the freedom of some of the principal speakers, rose at length and commanded the edicts to be registered without further opposition. To the astonishment of the king and the whole court party, this order was opposed by the duke d'Orleans, the first prince of the blood; who, considering the whole proceeding as an infringement on the rights of the parliament, protested against it; and his protest was confirmed by the unanimous voice of the assembly.

The succeeding day, the duke d'Orleans received an order from court to confine himself to one of his seats fifteen leagues from Paris, where he was to receive no company

pany except his own family; and M. M. Freteau and Sabatieri, who had distinguished themselves in the debate, were seized under the authority of *lettres de cachet*, and conveyed to different prisons.

After much altercation between the parliament and the ministry, the king once more inclined to pacific measures, and the exiled members were set at liberty. But as the ministry were now fully convinced of the impracticability of the parliaments, they determined to aim a decisive blow at their very existence. For this purpose, two great projects were at once devised; the first was the establishment of a number of grand bailiwicks throughout the kingdom, which were calculated to diminish the jurisdiction, the credit, and the profits of the parliaments; and the other was the creation of a *cour plenièr*e, for the enregistering of the royal edicts, which must virtually destroy all their consequence in the state.

The *cour plenièr*e was to be composed of princes of the blood, peers of France, magistrates, and military officers, to be nominated by the king. The project for its institution was kept a profound secret; the edict respecting it, as well as that of the grand bailiwicks, was to be presented to the different parliaments on the same day, in the beginning of May 1788; and for this purpose they were printed in the most private manner at Versailles.

The diligence and activity of M. d'Espremenil, a young and enterprising member of the parliament at Paris, detected the plot. He even procured copies of the edicts, and communicated them to his colleagues; and he and another spirited member, M. Monsambert, excited them, by the most pointed and energetic eloquence, to a vigorous resistance. The king was now convinced that the moment was arrived, when it was become necessary to employ force in support of his despotic authority. A body of troops surrounded the hall of justice, and the two obnoxious magistrates, M. M. d'Espremenil and Monsambert, were carried off to the state prison of the Isle de St. Marguerite, in the presence and amidst the murmurs of an indignant people.

The parliament remonstrated with redoubled confidence; and the voice of the people seconded their complaints. The king again found it necessary to convene the notables, and appeared in person in that assembly in the beginning of May. The object was to propose for their approbation the establishment of the *cour plénier*; but the notables received the proposal with cold and silent respect; while the parliament protested with renewed vigour, and with unequivocal tokens of rooted aversion. The general discontent reached even the peers of France; and the minister (now raised from the see of Toulouse to the lucrative archbishopric of Sens) began to look round him with apprehension and despondency, and seriously to meditate a retreat from office.

It is to the credit of the archbishop, that he advised the king to recal M. Neckar, as the only remedy for the public discontent: He and M. Lamoignon soon after resigned their respective situations; and the latter terminated his chagrin, by putting an end to his existence.

A tumult of rejoicing, conducted with little decency on the part of the populace, and terminated with blood by the interference of the military, served to evince the sentiments of the people on the dismissal of the ministers. But the acclamations with which M. Neckar was received, could not eradicate from his mind the difficulties which he had to encounter. It was evident that all the former administrations had sunk under the weight of the public distress; and that some mode was to be devised which might give proper energy and effect to the extraordinary means which must be employed for its alleviation. The public sentiment, which a previous recommendation of the parliament of Paris had excited, pointed out to M. Neckar the only measure which he could safely employ. The voice of the people had long demanded the assembling of the states-general. In this, upon different motives, all parties were agreed; and the court and the minister were obliged to give way, since no other means appeared of satisfying the creditors of the nation.

In the convoking of the states, however, a variety of opposite interests presented themselves to embarrass and distress the minister. On the one hand, it was obvious that the public affairs could only be regenerated by destroying, if not in the whole, at least in a considerable degree, the unreasonable immunities of the privileged orders.—The equalization of the taxes was the only measure by which the nation could be made to endure the burden of the national debt; and on the other, should the scale preponderate in favour of the people, those excesses to which popular counsels are always exposed were to be apprehended and feared. On the great question, therefore, respecting the number of the deputies to be sent by the different orders to the meeting of the states-general, the opinions of individuals were divided according to the interest of the parties which they respectively espoused; and the ministry themselves were far from decided. The general principles of equity seemed to dictate, that as the *tiers etat*, or commons, so infinitely exceeded in number the whole body of the two other orders, the nobility and clergy, the number of their deputies should bear some proportion to the numbers whom they represented. On the contrary, it might easily be foreseen that such an arrangement virtually involved the ruin of the privileged orders, and perhaps the overthrow of monarchy itself. On so momentous a question the minister did not presume to decide, and it was agreed once more to convoke the assembly of the notables—though it was scarcely probable, that an assembly consisting entirely of privileged persons should decide peremptorily against the privileged orders.

The proclamation convoking the notables was dated on the fifth of October 1788, and the assembly met on the sixth of the following month. The motives assigned by the proclamation were, that the king could have desired to have adopted the model of the last assembly of the states-general, but that in various articles it could with difficulty be reconciled to the present situation of affairs, and that in others it had excited a dissatisfaction, the grounds of which deserved to be investigated; that the

elections of the *tiers etat* had been confined to the towns called *bonnes villes*, to the exclusion of many others which had since grown considerable; that the inhabitants of the open country had in most cases sent no deputies; that the representatives of the towns were generally chosen by the corporations, whose officers at present came in by purchase; that almost all the representatives of the *tiers etat* had been nobles; that the elections had been made by bailliages, every one of which had sent nearly the same number of deputies, though they had then been unequal in population and extent, and were now much more so; that the states-general had divided themselves into twelve sections, called governments, by a majority of which every question was decided; but these governments were unequal, as well as the bailliages, a majority of which constituted the vote of the government; lastly, that a great portion of the time of the last states-general had been consumed in frivolous contests respecting their formation. Moved by these considerations, the king had thought that the discussion of them ought not to be confined to his privy council; and he had called together the same notables that had met in 1787, and whose nomination had been made for other purposes, that he might give the most striking proof of his impartiality.

The month of November was memorably distinguished in almost every part of the kingdom by popular meetings for the purpose of supporting the cause of the *tiers etat*, and addresses were presented from the various towns and districts of Normandy, Guienne, Orleannois, and Lorraine, demanding the establishment of particular states to regulate the affairs of these provinces, and a double representation in the states-general. In Guienne, the remonstrances were enforced by a considerable party from the other two orders. In Languedoc, the institution of provincial states already existed, and the representation of the commons was equal to the sum of the other two; but the representatives had by long established practice derived their situation from the appointment of the crown, and not from the election of the people. Of consequence the inhabitants at large were unwilling that they should
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It was in the midst of this effervescence of the commons of France, that the notables held their sittings; and it is not to be doubted that the action of each mutually produced some effect upon the other. The assembly was opened as usual by a speech from the king, the keeper of the seals, and the director-general of the finances. It was observed by M. Neckar, that the king was not ignorant of the respect that ought to be entertained for the ancient usages of a monarchy; it was under their protection that every constitutional right acquired a new degree of force; they secured the public tranquillity by opposing a barrier to the inconsiderate ardour of innovation. But the king was equally penetrated with those first principles of justice, that had neither epoch nor commencement, nor could have a conclusion; principles, that obliged him to acquire, through the medium of a just representation, a knowledge of the sentiments of his subjects. Circumstances had greatly changed since the meeting of the last states-general: and, while the king would always particularly distinguish the two first orders of the nation, he could not refuse his esteem to commerce and the arts, or deny an eminent share in his regard to the peaceable labours of agriculture. There were four considerations which it was particularly proper to recommend to the attention of the notables; the composition of the states-general, the forms of convoking them, the regulations that were to be prescribed in the conduct of the elections, and the instructions which the deputies were to receive from their electors. The first and third of these seem to be principally interesting. Under the first M. Neckar recommended to the notables to consider the total number of deputies, and the proportion to be assigned to each order. Under the third, what was to be admitted as the legal qualification of the elector and the elected; whether the *tiers etat* should be authorised to select a representative from the superior orders; whether the orders in each district should proceed to the choice of their representatives separately or united; whether the elections
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should be conducted by poll or by ballot ; and what principle should be employed in determining the number of representatives each district should be permitted to choose. These questions were afterwards modified by the notables. They did not directly admit into their list that of the total number of deputies ; and they inserted the great and interesting problem, whether the future sittings of the national assembly should be in one body or in separate houses.

It was early visible that the notables were divided in their opinions, there being a small but respectable minority who embraced the cause of the people. The rest were highly aristocratical in their sentiments ; and, beginning to be justly alarmed for the downfall of their usurpation, exerted themselves to the best of their power to resist the ruin by which they were about to be overtaken. The sections of the count d'Artois and the duke of Bourbon earnestly recommended the model of 1614, and suggested a doubt, whether there was any power short of that of the states-general deliberating by orders, that could superinduce upon it any material alteration. The sections of the duke d'Orleans, and the princes Conde and Conti, pleaded the same cause, though in a manner less peremptory. The section of Monsieur, in which a majority of the members had embraced the side of liberty, were fully persuaded of the propriety of the king's introducing whatever variation the welfare of the whole might appear to require.

The notables were nearly unanimous in the principles that ought to regulate the forms of election. The great body of electors were to be distributed into *communautes*, whose function it was to select a certain number of citizens to represent them in the secondary bailliage, the secondary bailliages to depute to the primary ones, and these last to fix upon the national representatives in the general assembly. This chain of deputation was applicable only to the *tiers etat*: The superior orders were authorised immediately to elect their representatives to the national senate. In those provinces that were in the habit of being regulated by their provincial states, the states
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were to elect the representatives, at least in such of them as could prove that they were already in possession of that privilege.

In the section of Monsieur, the question of the proportional representation of the three orders was decided in favour of doubling the *tiers etat*, by a majority of thirteen to twelve. In the sections d'Artois, d'Orleans, and Conti, the same principle was maintained, by a minority of eight, eight, and six, respectively. In the other two it was carried unanimously in favour of the aristocracy. The question of the deliberation in one or more houses was also variously decided. Three of the sections seemed to consider the deliberation by orders as an essential part of the constitution; those of d'Orleans and Bourbon required, that at least the first deliberation should be in the aristocratical form, the states-general afterwards to adopt whatever form they thought proper; and the section of Monsieur declared the question to be altogether out of their province to determine. Upon the question, whether the three orders should deliberate separately or united, in the election of deputies, the section of Monsieur pronounced entire liberty; and the other five prescribed a separate consultation, unless in any particular district it should appear that precedent decided in favour of the contrary.

The more interesting question, whether the superior bailliages, some of which contained twelve thousand, and others six hundred thousand inhabitants, should elect the same number of deputies, was determined in the negative by the section of Monsieur, and in the affirmative by the other five. The inquiry respecting the mode of election by poll or by ballot, was by four of the sections decided in favour of an open poll; by the sections d'Artois and d'Orleans, a poll was prescribed in the primary assemblies; but it was affirmed to be of great moment, that the ultimate election of deputies to the states-general should be conducted by the mode of ballot. Finally, the five junior sections anxiously expressed their readiness to submit to an equal participation of the burden of contributing to the public revenue; the section of Monsieur, which in
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all the most interesting questions had declared in favour of the popular cause, disdained to have recourse to an ostentation of generosity, which, after the proceedings they adopted, would have been altogether superfluous.

The proceedings of the notables were aristocratical, but moderate; and did not therefore satisfy the desires of those who began to be seriously alarmed for the impending revolution. The daring language of such as from the press or in the municipal assemblies pleaded the cause of the democracy, inspired them with horror.

The prince of Conti, in a general committee of the notables on the 28th of November, was the first to unfurl the standard of aristocratical jealousy. Upon this occasion he read and delivered a note to Monsieur, president of the committee, declaring that he owed it to his conscience, his birth, and the present crisis of public affairs, to enter his protest against the inundation that existed, of scandalous publications, that spread through every part of the kingdom trouble and division. The monarchy was attacked! a blow was aimed at its existence! and the moment was at hand! It was impossible that the king should not at length open his eyes, and that his brothers should not call upon him to do so. It was necessary to the stability of the throne, of the laws, and of order, that all new systems should be for ever proscribed, and that the constitution and the ancient forms should be preserved in their integrity. The note of the prince of Conti was laid by Monsieur before the king, who returned it, with an intimation that the subject of it was totally foreign to those for the discussion of which the notables had been assembled; that he therefore forbade the sections to take it into their consideration; and that the princes of the blood ought to address themselves directly to him, when they had any thing to communicate which they conceived would be useful to him.

The notables were dissolved on the 12th of December, and two days after that event a memorial was presented to the king, by the princes of the blood who had sat in that assembly, with the exception of Monsieur and the duke

duke d'Orleans, enforcing the representation of the prince of Conti. They affirmed, that the state was in instant danger; that a revolution was gradually taking place in the principles of government; and that the present fermentation of men's minds furnished the means by which it was to be effected. Institutions, hitherto reputed sacred, and by which the monarchy had flourished for ages, were now disputed as problematical, or decried as unjust. The publications that had appeared during the sitting of the notables, the memorials that had been formed by different provinces, cities, and corps, their object and their style, announced a regular system of insubordination, and a determined contempt for the laws of the state. Every author erected himself into a legislator.

The parliament of Paris appears to have exerted a foresight of a different character from that of the princes of the blood, and to have modelled its proceedings accordingly. Those of the princes were full of ardour and adventure; those of the parliament were infected with timidity. The former seemed prepared to sacrifice every thing to the unlimited assertion of the prerogatives to which they were born; the latter, if they were unable to preserve the whole, were willing to make as good a bargain as they could. The younger members that guided their deliberations, had tasted of the intoxicating draught of popular applause. M. d'Espremenil and others had been received with shouts at the re-assembling of their corps after the period of their vacation; and they could not persuade themselves lightly to part with that public favour, which had been so particularly grateful to them.

The vacation of the parliament expired on the 12th of November; but it was not usual with that body to enter immediately upon the transaction of business, and accordingly it was not till the 5th of December that they adopted the resolution, by which they endeavoured to qualify their intolerant language of the preceding months. In this resolution they expressed their alarms for the consequences of the present ferment, and of the
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manœuvres employed by ill-intentioned persons to deprive the nation of the fruits of the efforts of the magistracy, and to substitute anarchy and sedition in the room of the acquisition of a just and generous liberty. They recommended, as the most desirable of all preliminaries, harmony between the different orders; and they regretted that they should have been themselves so much misunderstood in their selection of the model of 1614. By this selection, they had undoubtedly intended to point out the mode of convocation by bailiages as preferable to all others; but they were neither empowered nor had designed to put any restriction upon the confidence of the electors; and with respect to the proportion of representatives for the three orders, as it was undetermined either by law or any constant usage, they had always meant to refer to the discretion of the sovereign the choice of such measures as might best accord with reason, with liberty, with justice, and with the national sentiment. To quiet the perturbation that at present existed, the parliament begged leave to recommend to the king to convoke the states-general as speedily as possible, and, previously to that convocation, to sanction and consecrate the following fundamental principles,—the periodical assembling of this national body; their right to mortgage in perpetuity to the public creditors the produce of certain taxes; their obligation towards their constituents to grant no other taxes but for a definite time, and to a given amount; their right expressly to appropriate the public money to the different services in which it should be employed; the resolution of the king to consent to the immediate abolition of all taxes bearing partially upon particular orders; the responsibility of ministers; the right of the states-general to accuse and impeach before the parliaments all national offenders, saving the privilege of the parliament's attorney general to exercise the same function; the mutual relation between the states-general and the courts of law, so that the latter might not and could not suffer the levy of any tax, nor take part in the execution of any law of whatever sort or description, that had not previously been
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been demanded or sanctioned by the former ; the individual liberty of the citizen, to be secured by the obligation of the party arresting to commit him to a legal prison, and surrender him to the discretion of his natural judges ; lastly, the legal liberty of the press, the only secure and ready resource of innocence against oppression, reserving a responsibility for reprehensible works after their publication, according to the exigence of the case.

M. d'Espremenil published at this period a very brief disquisition, which may be regarded as the most authentic commentary upon the resolution of the 5th of December. According to him, the voting by separate orders was the constitution, and the voting in a single assembly the exception ; an exception, to which it might be necessary to have recourse upon extraordinary cases, but which must always be adopted by the voluntary assent of the three orders. The fermentation that had been excited, about doubling or not doubling the representation of the *tiers etat*, was an example of perversity and malevolence that no history could parallel. In fact, he observed, all France was of one opinion. The clergy and nobility were willing to concede their pecuniary privileges ; and this concession on the one hand, and the independence of orders on the other, were only wanting to render the nation happy and free. He was, nevertheless, of opinion, that the representation of the *tiers etat* ought to be doubled : Not to protect them against the aristocratical orders, there was no longer any contest between them ; but because a full and numerous representation of the people was the best security against ministerial despotism, the common enemy of the sovereign and of every order in the state.

The attention of all Europe was fixed on the meeting of the states-general, while the minds of the French themselves continued to be agitated by a variety of different and contending passions and opinions. Those who were in possession of power, were desirous of retaining it ; and those who had no dependence but upon their abilities, hoped that a new constitution of things would elevate them to that rank, to which, from their merits,

they conceived themselves entitled. The two great parties, which were afterwards to divide the nation, were already formed. The pertinacity with which the privileged orders were determined to adhere to their peculiar advantages, is evident from what we have stated in the preceding pages ; and on the other hand, a multitude of writers of the greatest eminence were employed in exciting the *tiers etat* to the assertion of its right. The claims of the nobility and clergy were examined with acuteness, with precision, with research. The balance of ability was greatly on the side of the people, and the usages of antiquity faded before the light of genius and of truth. Previous to this period, that extraordinary society or club *, was formed, which has since had so considerable and so pernicious an influence over the public affairs. Its members instituted an active correspondence throughout the kingdom, and, by cultivating an uniformity of opinion on political subjects, produced, in time, that uniformity of will which afterwards appeared to govern the popular counsels.

The political schism which had already taken place, was not likely to be composed during the necessary turbulence of an election. Yet the system on which the French elections were conducted, is less liable to tumult and disorder than those where there is an open and immediate poll ; and though the leaders of parties were sufficiently animated in the support of their particular sentiments, the great body of the people were either dubious of the consequences, or were not yet warmed in the contest. The meetings for the nomination of electors were not so numerously attended as might have been supposed ; and even in some places, where a thousand voters were expected, not above fifty appeared.

The spirit of the two parties was manifested in the *cabiers* (or instructions to their representatives) which were drawn up on this occasion. The nobility and the clergy, in their separate chambers, digested their instructions ; the first object of which was to preserve what they

* The Jacobins.

were pleased to consider as their own rights ; the second, to demand the rights of the people. The monarch, according to this system, was the only devoted party ; and with his rights the states-general might make as free as they pleased. All parties, however, agreed in renouncing a part of their pecuniary privileges. The instructions of the *tiers état* were hastily composed ; but that uniformity of sentiment, which the sufferings of the people and the activity of their leaders had produced, was evident in them all. They demanded the suppression of more abuses than the national assembly was able in three years to destroy, more than perhaps ever can be eradicated ; all, however, were unanimous in demanding a constitution, liberty, the assumption of natural rights, and the protection of the public treasure from the depredations of the court. The deputies of each order departed, thus instructed, to maintain the claims of their particular party. “ Those of the *tiers état*,” says a distinguished member of the assembly, “ carried with them the benedictions and the prayers of the multitude.”

Such were the objects which occupied the reflecting part of the nation ; but whatever might be the expectations of others, the favourites of the court could not fail to perceive that the violence of the storm would break upon their heads. The instructions which were dictated by the *tiers état* for the government of its representatives, the vast extent of its demands, and the number and ability of the publications in support of these demands, made them feel the necessity of opposing against that order the full force of every existing authority. M. Neckar was desirous that the states might be assembled at Paris ; but the king preferred Versailles, where the communication between the members and the court would be more immediate. It is evident that the deputies of the *tiers état*, who were collected from every remote quarter of the kingdom, and many of them entirely unacquainted with the great world, assembled under considerable disadvantages, in a place where every thing bore the stamp of despotism, and where intrigue and

venality had industriously spread their choicest allurements. The agents of the court had already established conferences at the house of Madame Polignac; and it is said by the democratic party, that the chief object of their deliberation was to unite the two principal orders, the clergy and nobles, and to retain the commons in a state of dependance and subjection. On the other hand, the deputies of the people were not without their jealousies; and those of each province held their separate meetings, till at length they became united in that of Brittany.

The day appointed for the meeting of the states-general arrived. The 5th of May 1789 will be long memorable in the annals of France, and it was indeed a day of festivity to the whole nation. It commenced, agreeably to ancient custom, with a religious act. The representatives of the people, preceded by the clergy, and followed by the king, repaired to the temple of God, accompanied with an immense crowd, offering vows and prayers for success to their labours.

The whole ceremony indicated the distinction of orders, and evinced that it was the secret determination of the court strictly to maintain it. Faithful to the customs of 1614, the nobility were arrayed in a sumptuous robe, and the deputies of the commons in the habit of the law. Thus, while the nobility and the higher clergy glittered in gold and jewels, the representatives of the people appeared in mourning: but the spectators were not dazzled by splendid appearances; that body which represented the nation engrossed all its applause, and *Vive le tiers etat!* was echoed from every quarter.

The assembly was opened by a speech from the throne, in which the monarch declared his satisfaction at seeing himself surrounded, after so long an interval, by the representatives of his people—he mentioned the heavy debt of the public, a part of which had accumulated during his own reign, but in an honourable cause—he hinted at the general disquiet and the love of innovation which had taken possession of the minds of the people; but depended on their wisdom and moderation in the adoption of alterations:

ations: and concluded by warm professions of his own attachment to the public welfare.

The situation of M. Neckar, at this critical period, was peculiarly delicate. He was placed between the court and the people, at a time when it was impossible for an honest man to attend equally to the claims of each party. From him every thing was expected by the people, while it was impossible to comply with the plenitude of their demands. On the contrary, the love and admiration of the people was sufficient to render him suspected by the courtiers. He was despised by the high nobility, for his inferiority of birth and family; and he was odious to the bigoted clergy, because he was a protestant. Fortunately for M. Neckar, his integrity was above all suspicion; every person in the kingdom, from the monarch to the peasant, was satisfied of the rectitude of his heart. His temper and moderation were of the utmost importance in turbulent times. His influence frequently interposed against the excesses of popular infatuation; and the dignity and virtue of his character gave him consequence even with the enemies of liberty.

The first object of the states was the verification of their powers—that is, the production of their writs of return, and the identification of the deputies, which is equivalent to our members of parliament taking their seats. On this occasion the fatal contest between the three orders commenced. The deputies of the commons saw evidently that the people had in vain achieved their wish with respect to the number of representatives—in vain the deputies of the *tiers état* in number constituted a half of the states-general, if by the mode of voting they were to be reduced to a third. They saw further, that should the verification of their powers be effected in separate chambers, each order would then be constituted a legal assembly, and the union be rendered for ever impossible.

While this matter was in agitation, a letter was received from the king, desiring “that the conciliatory commissioners would meet in the presence of the keeper of the seals, and some other commissioners to be ap-

pointed by the monarch, in order to renew their conferences, &c."—In the mean time the chamber of the nobles (this sovereign legislative chamber, as it was called by one of its members) passed a decree, asserting, "that they regarded as a part of the constitution, the division of orders, and their respective veto, and that in these principles they were determined to persevere." The second conferences, therefore, were equally unsuccessful with the first.

It was now near five weeks since the states-general had assembled, and the three orders found themselves in the same inactive state as at first. The commons therefore conceived it was full time to emerge from this criminal inactivity, and to afford an opportunity to those of the nobility and clergy who professed a sincere love for their country, to become active in its favour. They divided themselves into twenty committees, to facilitate the public business; and on the 10th of June, the abbe Sieyes proposed that they should make a last effort for a union of the orders; and should this fail, that they should then form themselves into an active assembly, for the despatch of business.

In consequence of this proposal, notice was sent on the 12th, that they would immediately order a general call of the deputies of all the bailiwicks, including those of the privileged classes; and in default of their appearance, that they would proceed to the verification of the powers, and to every other public object, as well in the absence as in the presence of the nobility and clergy.

On the 13th, they proceeded to the call of the deputies, and to the verification of the returns. Not one of the nobility appeared; but on the call of the bailiwick of Poitou, three curés, Messrs. Cefve, Ballard, and Jalot, presented themselves with the writs of their return, which they laid respectfully upon the table. These venerable pastors were received with the warmest transports of joy and acclamation. They had declared their intentions the preceding evening in the chamber of the clergy; and they were followed the next day by five

more of their brethren, among whom were Messrs. Dillon, Gregoire, and Bodineau.

In the mean time the unpopularity of the nobility increased almost to detestation, and to their obstinacy the inactivity of the states was wholly attributed. At length the deputies of the people felt themselves supported by the public opinion, and on the 17th of June proceeded to the daring step of assuming to themselves the legislative government. On that memorable day, in the midst of an immense concourse of spectators, the deputies of the people, with such of the clergy as had already joined them, announced themselves to the public by the since celebrated denomination of the *national assembly*. The hall re-echoed with the exclamations of joy, "Long live the king, and the national assembly!" But when the representatives of the people rose in solemn silence to take the oath to fulfil with fidelity their duty, every eye was melted into tears, and the enthusiasm of liberty took possession of every heart. This solemn ceremony was succeeded by the nomination of M. Bailly to the office of president for four days only, and that of Messrs. Camus and Pison de Galand as secretaries for the same space of time.

The first resolutions of the assembly, while they were declaratory of the constitutional power vested in the representatives of the people, had also a regard to the urgent necessities of the state. They pronounced "all levies, imposts, or taxes unconstitutional, which were not enacted by the formal consent of the representatives of the nation; that consequently the existing taxes were illegal and null; that notwithstanding this, they, in the name of the nation, gave a temporary sanction to the present taxes and levies, which were to continue to be levied in the manner they had hitherto been, only until the separation of the assembly, from whatever cause that might happen." The assembly proceeded to declare, "that as soon as, in concert with his majesty, it should be able to fix and determine the principles of national regeneration, it would take into formal consideration the *national debt*, placing from the present moment the creditors

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ditors of the state under the safeguard of the honour and faith of the French nation." These decrees conclude with a resolution to inquire into the causes of the scarcity which at that period afflicted the kingdom, and into the means of remedying and averting that calamity.

The firm and temperate conduct of the national assembly awed at first, but did not entirely disconcert the aristocratic party, which assiduously employed every artifice to elude the blow with which they were threatened. The chamber of the clergy had been engaged for some days in discussing the manner in which they should verify their powers; and a number of cures had, during the discussion, presented their writs or titles to the assembly, and returned to their own chamber to defend the popular cause. At length, on the 19th of June, a majority of that body voted for the verification of their powers in common with the national assembly; which so much alarmed the court party, that it is confidently reported that M. d'Espremenil proposed, in the chamber of the nobles, an address to the king, beseeching him to dissolve the states-general.

The court was then at Marly, and M. Neckar, engaged with a dying sister, left the king exposed to every stratagem that was spread for him by the unprincipled courtiers. Repeated councils were held, the result of which could not be very favourable to the views of the people: At last, the king was impressed with the necessity of commanding the advance of an immense military force to the capital; and both the object and the consequences seemed to countenance the opinion that the designs of the party did not end there.

On Saturday the 20th of June, the day on which the clergy were to unite themselves to the national assembly, the heralds proclaimed a royal session; and a detachment of the guards surrounded the hall of the states, in order, as it was alleged, that it might be properly prepared for the reception of the king. The president and members were repulsed from the door, and acquainted by the commanding officer, that his orders were "to admit no person
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into the hall of the states-general." "And I protest against these orders," replied the president, "and the assembly shall take cognizance of them."

Supported, as they perceived themselves to be, by the voice of the people, the assembly were not to be discouraged by this puerile expedient. On the motion of M. Bailly, they immediately adjourned to a tennis-court, situated in the street of Old Versailles, where, in the presence of applauding thousands, they took a solemn oath, "never to separate till the constitution should be completed."

On the 22d another proclamation was issued, intimating, that the royal session was deferred till the succeeding day; and the hall of the states-general still remained closed, on account of the preparations. The assembly wandered from place to place, before they could find a roof capacious enough to shelter so considerable a body. They at length assembled in the church of St. Louis; and the majority of the clergy, amounting to 149, assembled in the choir. After a deputation to arrange the ceremonials, the doors of the choir were thrown open; the clergy advanced with their president the archbishop of Vienne at their head, and the deputies cordially embraced each other. The sanctity of the place contributed to render the meeting more solemn and affecting, and the plaudits of the spectators testified at once their triumph and their joy. Two nobles of Dauphine, the marquis de Blacon, and the count d'Agoult, attended at the same time to present their powers; the rest of the minority of the first order waited the result of the royal session.

The events which had taken place at Versailles, and the change which they announced in the dispositions of the government, with respect to the national assembly, excited at Paris the utmost consternation. Nor could a letter from M. Neckar to the magistrates, assuring them that no such measure was intended as the dissolution of the states-general, entirely allay the ferment. The royal session took place on the 23d. It was at once attended with all that is awful, and all that is magnificent in arbitrary

bitrary authority. The hall was furrounded with soldiers. The two privileged orders were seated; while the representatives of the people were left without, exposed for more than an hour to the rain. M. de Mirabeau urged the president to conduct the nation immediately to the presence of the king, or to demand at least that the gates should be opened. They were opened at length to the deputies, but not to the people. The throne was raised upon a kind of stage or platform at the bottom of the hall; on the right the clergy were seated, and on the left the nobility. The four heralds, with their kings at arms, were stationed in the middle; and at the bottom of the platform was a table, round which the ministers were seated: one chair however was vacant, which should have been occupied by M. Neckar; nor did any part of this ill-conducted business excite more general disgust than the absence of that favourite minister.

The speech and declarations of the king were a singular mixture of patriotism and despotic authority. He spoke of the favours which he conferred upon his people; and caused to be read a declaration of his sovereign will, as if the legislature were only called to consent to such laws as should be proposed by the executive power, without being competent to propose any themselves. He suggested a plan of government, in which the distinction of orders was to be preserved, allowing them however occasionally to debate in common, with the king's approbation. Not a word was advanced on the subject of the responsibility of ministers, nor on the participation of the states-general in the legislative power. The odious tyranny of *lettres de cachet* was formally announced to be continued, with only a few modifications. A guarded silence was observed concerning the liberty of the press, and the pernicious tax of lotteries. In fine, the king declared null the deliberations and resolves of the 17th, and ordered the deputies immediately to separate, and to appear before him on the following day.

When the king retired, he was followed by all the nobility, and by a part of the clergy. The deputies of the

the commons remained motionless on the benches, and preserved a gloomy silence. The marquis de Breze, grand-master of the ceremonies, entered the hall, and addressing himself to the president, "You know, sir," said he, "the intentions of the king." The president answered respectfully, that the assembly was not constituted to receive orders from any person: But the fervid Mirabeau, rising from his seat, and addressing himself to M. de Breze, replied, "The commons of France have determined to debate. We have heard the intentions which have been suggested by the king; and you, who cannot be his agent at the states-general,—you, who have here neither seat nor voice, nor a right to speak, are not the person to remind us of his speech. Go tell your master, that we are here by the power of the people, and that nothing shall expel us but the bayonet." The enthusiasm of the assembly seconded that of the orator; and, with one unanimous voice, they declared that such was their determination.

The grand-master retired, and a profound silence pervaded the hall. It was at length broken by M. Camus, who declaimed against the royal session, which he stigmatized by the contemptuous appellation of *a bed of justice*, and proposed a resolution declaratory of the assembly's adherence to their former decrees, which he asserted no power could annul. He was warmly supported by Messrs. Barnave, Glaizen, Pethion, the abbé Gredire, and many others. The abbé Sieyes only observed, "Gentlemen, you are the same to-day, that you were before." The motion of M. Camus was unanimously decreed; and was followed by another, which pronounced "the persons of the deputies inviolable."

M. Neckar had several times solicited his dismissal, but was constantly refused by the king. When his majesty returned from the royal session, he was followed by a crowd of more than six thousand citizens, and the public discontent was manifested by murmurs and exclamations. The majority of the members of the assembly waited on M. Neckar, and conjured him to continue faithful

faithful to the nation and the king, and to remain in the ministry. The consternation however became general, when, at six in the evening, the queen sent for the director-general of the finances, and through her apartments introduced him to the royal closet. At about half past six, the minister came out of the palace on foot by a private door; but as soon as he appeared, there was a general shout of "*Vive M. Neckar!*" Some of the populace prostrated themselves on their knees, intreating him to remain with them as their father and their guide. He satisfied their importunities, by assuring them, that he would not abandon them; that he had pledged himself to the king, and was resolved to live or die with them.

The assembly met the next day, and were joined by the majority of the clergy; and on the 25th, forty-nine members of the nobility, with the duke d'Orleans at their head, made their appearance in the assembly. The rector of the university of Paris, and the prior of Marmontiers, came the same day to augment the number of the patriotic clergy. In the mean time, the dissidents among the privileged orders continued in a violent state of agitation; and M. d'Espremenil even accused the deputies of the *tiers etat* of high treason. The archbishop of Paris, pressed by his connexions into the service of a party which in his heart he condemned, passed at this period for one of the chiefs of the aristocratic cabal; and his house had been attacked by a furious mob, who, however, were dispersed without mischief by a detachment of the guards. On the 26th he was introduced to the assembly by the archbishop of Bourdeaux. Some others of the superior clergy, and the count de Crecy, took their seats on the same day; and even in the chamber of the nobles, the union was again deliberated upon, and with less animosity than before.

In the midst of contending factions, which occasionally sported with his credulity or his fears, the king still appeared to preserve a genuine love of his people, and an unviolated regard to the claims of humanity. He felt himself unhappy at the divisions which existed, and determined

terminated to end them if possible at any expense. In a private conversation with the duke de Luxembourg, president of the chamber of nobles, he is said to have urged his wishes for a union of the orders. He was answered by that nobleman, That the order to which he belonged were not contending for themselves, but for the crown--- he represented, that the nobility was the only body on which his majesty could depend, to defeat the exorbitant claims of the people--- that while the states-general continued divided, the royal authority was safe; but whenever the day should arrive that the states should vote by numbers only, from that moment the monarch was at their mercy.---“ I conjure your majesty” continued the duke, “ to condescend to reflect upon what I have the honour to state.”---“ M. de Luxembourg,” replied the king with firmness, “ I have reflected: I am determined upon any sacrifice; nor will I that a single man lose his life in my cause.” In consequence of this determination, the king on the 27th sent a pressing letter to the president of the nobility, and to the minority of the clergy, intreating the union of the orders. The clergy obeyed without hesitation; but it was not till after a very warm debate that the nobility submitted to the mandate of the sovereign. At the first news of this event, Versailles was transported with joy; the people ran in crowds to the palace, and demanded the king and queen. Their majesties appeared at a balcony, and the atmosphere re-echoed with the shouts of *Vive le roi! Vive la reine!* A general illumination concluded the triumph of the day.

The union of the orders, however, instead of terminating their machinations, served but to increase the secret opposition of those who were likely to be the only sufferers by a reform of abuses in France---the courtiers and favourites, who battered on its ruin. The dissolution of the assembly was now the only means which could restore to power these harpies of the state; and there is no cause to doubt that this was at least their first object. Whether the king was acquainted or not with the project is uncertain, but probably he was not. His fears and his passions were doubtless excited by the artful

circle that surrounded him; every intemperate expression that escaped in the assembly was assiduously conveyed to his ears, and its object even magnified. The turbulence of the metropolis was made an excuse for besieging it with mercenary armies. Thirty-five thousand men had been gradually collected from the extremities of the kingdom, and stationed in the neighbourhood of Paris and Versailles. Camps were traced out for a still greater force; the lines of fortification were already drawn upon every eminence; and almost every post was occupied which commanded the city, or the roads which communicated with it. These arrangements were made under the inspection and authority of marshal Broglio, an approved commander, a man habituated from his youth to the subordination of a military life, and generally supposed to be completely devoted to the party of the court.

In the mean time, Paris was not only threatened with the sword, but was actually visited with one of the severest calamities that can affect a country. A most alarming scarcity pervaded the whole kingdom; but it may well be conceived that its effects were most severely felt in the capital, which has no resources of its own, and in which the accumulation of human beings must necessarily increase the misery. The gates of the assembly were surrounded by famishing multitudes, beseeching their compassion and assistance. A committee of subsistence was formed, and various reports were received—prohibitions were issued against the exportation of corn, and a subscription was opened in Paris for the relief of the poor.

Under the pressure of such a calamity, it may well be supposed that the people were not in the most tranquil state. The general exclamation was for bread; and unfortunately the unsettled state of the metropolis afforded a daily excuse for the augmentation of the military in its neighbourhood, at a time when their presence served but to increase the general distress. The jealousy of the assembly was awakened farther, by observing, that for this service foreigners were preferred to the native

troops; and that more soldiers were assembled round the hall of the states-general itself, than would have sufficed to repel a foreign invasion. On the 10th of July, a spirited remonstrance to the king was proposed by the count de Mirabeau, and enforced by that commanding eloquence of which he was master.

The address itself was a model of fine composition: It stated, that in consequence of the royal invitation to the assembly to give his majesty some proofs of its confidence, they now came to inform him of the alarms at present existing, though not among themselves; that they came not to solicit his protection, for they entertained no fears; that in a recent instance, his majesty had seen the power which he possessed over the minds of the people; that the prisoners to whom the populace had given liberty, had of themselves resumed their fetters, and a single word from the mouth of the king had restored the public tranquillity; that such a sway was the only one which could now be exercised in France; that the danger from the assembling of the troops did not threaten the assembly, but the provinces—the capital, which might be jealous for their representatives; that the danger was for the troops themselves, who might be alienated from authority by their communication with the metropolis; for the labours of the assembly, which might be interrupted by popular commotions; and for the king himself. It concluded with expressing their own firmness, and beseeching his majesty to remove the troops, since a monarch adored by twenty-five millions of subjects could not possibly stand in need of foreign support.

The king's answer was cold and unsatisfactory. It alleged, that the tumultuous conduct of the metropolis was the reason for having surrounded it with troops; disclaimed every idea of interrupting the freedom of the assembly's deliberations; but added, that if the presence of the troops gave umbrage, he was ready, at the request of the assembly, to transfer the states-general to Noyon or Soissons, and to repair himself to Compiègne in order to maintain the necessary communication with the assembly. This answer was applauded by some of the mem-

bers ; but its design could not escape the penetration of Mirabeau, who in a short speech detected its fallacy. " The answer of the king," said he, " is a direct refusal to our requisition ; we will remove neither to Noyon nor to Soissons ; we will not place ourselves between two hostile armies—that which is besieging Paris, and that which may fall upon us from Flanders and Alsace : We have not asked permission to run away from the troops ; we have desired that the troops should be removed from the capital."

It is unfortunate for the memory of the late monarch, that no authentic documents have been produced to explain what were at this period the actual designs of the court. The democratic writers affirm, that a plan was actually concerted for the dissolution of the assembly, and the full resumption of despotic authority. They assert, that the night of the 14th or 15th of July was fixed upon for the attack of the metropolis, which was already besieged by fifty thousand men, and one hundred pieces of cannon. They describe the arrangement which was planned for the assault ; and some of them add, that not only the dissolution of the assembly, but a dreadful and sanguinary execution of its most distinguished members was to succeed. However little we may be disposed to credit this statement, the least we can believe is, that, agreeably to the declaration in the royal session of the 23d of June, the authority, if not the very phantom, of the states-general was to be annihilated ; and that something evil was intended was most evident from the dismissal of M. Neckar, which prematurely took place on the 11th of July. He was at dinner when the letter of the king, ordering him to quit the kingdom in twenty-four hours, was brought him by the count de la Luzerne. Without appearing in the least concerned, he had the presence of mind to tell the count, as he went out of the room, " We shall meet again at the council ;" and continued to converse with the archbishop of Bourdeaux and the rest of the company that were dining with him, as if nothing had happened. About five o'clock in the afternoon he complained of a pain in his head, and asked
madame

madame Neckar, if she would accompany him in an airing. He was not more than a league from Versailles, when he desired the coachman to drive on more quickly to St. Ouen, his country house. He passed the night there, and prepared for the journey; and this was the first opportunity he had of acquainting his daughter, the baroness de Stael, with the event, though she was present when he received the order of the king to quit the country like a criminal. He took the road to Brussels, as the nearest frontier; and carried with him, says M. Ra-
baut, the confidence of the nation.

The new arrangements in the ministry were the marshal Bioglio, minister of war; the baron de Breteuil, president of finance; M. de la Galeziere, comptroller-general; M. de la Porte, intendant of the war department; and M. Foulon, intendant of the navy.

It is impossible to describe the consternation which pervaded the whole city of Paris, on the receipt of this afflicting intelligence. The person who first reported it at the Hotel de Ville was considered as a lunatic, and with difficulty escaped some harsh treatment. It was no sooner confirmed, than the shops and places of public amusement were all shut up. A body of citizens ran to the warehouse of a statuary, and having procured the busts of M. Neckar and the duke d'Orleans, dressed them in mourning, and carried them about the streets. In their progress, they were stopped by a German regiment, the Royal Allemand, when the busts were broken by the soldiers; one man lost his life, and others of the populace were wounded. The army now came forward in force, with the prince de Lambesq, grand ecuyer of France, at their head, who was ordered to take post at the Thuilleries. Irritated, perhaps, at the spirit of resistance which he observed in the citizens, he imprudently wounded with his sabre a poor old man, who was walking peaceably in the gardens. The French have a remarkable respect for age, and this wanton outrage proved the signal of revolt; an instantaneous alarm was spread through the city, and the cry of *To arms* resounded in every quarter. The Germans were vigorously attacked

by the populace, who were joined by the French guards, and, overpowered by numbers, were obliged to retreat. From that moment the guards took leave of their officers; they set fire to their several barracks; and formed themselves into companies with the citizens, to patrol the streets, and preserve, if possible, the public tranquillity.

The citizens of Paris, at this moment, beheld themselves in a most alarming and critical situation. Whether true or not, the reports of the intended attack upon the city were universally credited; and the mysterious and impolitic proceedings of the court gave countenance, it must be confessed, to every suspicion. On the other hand, troops of banditti, the pests of a populous city, such as are ever ready to take advantage of public commotion, were beginning to collect; and, either from these on the one hand, or the foreign soldiery on the other, a general pillage was the only event that could be expected. Covered by the darkness of the night, several bands of ruffians paraded the streets, and even set fire to the city in different places: The horrid silence was interrupted only by confused shouts, and occasional discharges of musquetry. In this disastrous night, sleep only sealed the eyes of infants; they alone reposed in peace, while their anxious parents watched over their cradles.

Versailles was not more tranquil; but the court party abandoning themselves to an indecent joy, concluded the evening of the 12th with a tumultuous banquet. The women of the court mingled with the foreign soldiers in lascivious dances, to the sound of the German music. Their triumph, however, was not of long duration; a false report of 100,000 armed citizens being on the road to Versailles, joined to their mistrust of the national troops, gave at least a momentary check to their extravagant exultation.

The morning of the 13th displayed at Paris a most affecting spectacle of confusion and dismay; a band of villains had already pillaged the charitable house of St-Lazare; at six o'clock the alarm bells sounded throughout the city, and the terror became universal. The citizens assembled at the Hotel de Ville, and no alternative
appeared

appeared for the protection of their lives and property, but that of embodying themselves, and forming a regular militia for the defence of the capital.* Sixty thousand citizens were soon enrolled, and marshalled under different commanders: the French guards spontaneously offered their services, and were distributed among the different companies. The standards of the city were displayed; trenches were thrown up, and barricadoes formed in different parts of the suburbs. Regulations were next established for the preservation of order, and a permanent council or committee, to sit night and day, was appointed. At about half past five in the afternoon, this committee despatched a deputation to acquaint the national assembly with the occurrences which had taken place at Paris.

The assembly had been engaged, from the day when they presented their address to the king, in framing a declaration of rights, and the plan of a constitution; and even in the midst of these alarms they continued without intermission their patriotic labours. In the disgrace of M. Neckar they saw their own ruin determined; yet they proceeded with a firmness tempered with moderation, a courage ennobled by dignity, which reflects on their conduct immortal honour.

The courage of the Parisians was answerable to the firmness of the national assembly. By the accession of the French guards, they had obtained a supply of arms and ammunition, and a considerable train of artillery; the shops of the armourers were ransacked for weapons, and the soldier-citizens were even trained to some appearance of discipline. The night of the 13th passed without any event of consequence: The morning discovered that, taking advantage of the darkness, the troops encamped in the Champs Elysees had moved off. The people, however, were ignorant of the causes of this removal, and an immediate attack was expected. The national guard (for

* Such was at least the public pretext—the democratic party had it undoubtedly in view by this arrangement to be able more effectually to oppose the foreign soldiery.

that was the name which the mixed band of soldiers and citizens now assumed) amounted to the number of 150,000 men; but the majority were still without arms. The marquis de la Salle was named commander in chief; the green cockade, which they had at first adopted, was changed for the since famous national colours, red, blue, and white; the new army was now more regularly officered; and various deputations were despatched in quest of arms and implements of war. M. de Fleffelles, the *prévôt des marchands* (or mayor), made many promises on this subject; but they all proved, like every part of his conduct, delusive.

In the course of their inquiries after arms, a party of more than 30,000, conducted by M. Ethis de Corny, repaired to the *Hôtel des Invalides*. M. Sombreuil, the governor, had received orders, so early as on Sunday the 12th, to hold himself in readiness for an attack; and his men had remained during the whole of Monday under arms, and on the morning of Tuesday he permitted them to take a few hours rest. At this moment, M. de Corny arrived; and, on making known to the governor the object of his mission, he was answered, that the invalids had not any arms. M. Corny was re-conducted by M. Sombreuil to the gate; but it was no sooner opened than the multitude rushed in, in an irresistible torrent, and in a few minutes ransacked every part of the hôtel. More than 30,000 muskets, and twenty pieces of cannon, were the fruit of this expedition. On the opposite side of the Seine, a similar event occurred; There another party attacked the *garde-meuble de la couronne*; and from that ancient store, an immense number of weapons of different kinds were procured.

It has been generally believed, that the taking of the Bastille was the preconcerted effort of reviving liberty; but this was really not the case. Some of the most important actions which have been achieved by courage or activity, have in their origin been directed by that imperceptible chain of events which human blindness terms accident or chance. Like the *Hôtel des Invalides*, the Bastille had, from the first moment of the alarms in Paris, been

been put in a state of defence. Fifteen pieces of cannon were mounted on the towers; and three field-pieces, loaded with grape and case shot, guarded the first gate. An immense quantity of powder and military stores had been brought from the arsenal, and distributed to the different corps; the mortars had been exercised, the draw-bridge and gates strengthened and repaired; the house of the governor himself was fortified, and guarded by light pieces of artillery. The shortness of the time had not permitted him to be equally provident in laying in a sufficient store of provisions. The forces which the fortress included were chiefly foreigners. On the morning of the 14th, several deputations had waited on the marquis de Launay, the governor, to demand arms and peace: They were courteously received by him; and he gave them the strongest assurances of his good intentions. Indeed it is said that he was himself averse to hostile measures, had he not been seduced by the perfidious counsels of the sieur Louis de Flue, commander of the Swiss guards, by the orders of the baron de Bezenval, and by the promises of M. de Fleffelles. The Swiss soldiers had even been engaged by an oath to fire on the invalids who were in the fortress, if they refused to obey the governor; and the invalids themselves, it is said, were intoxicated with a profusion of liquor which had been distributed among them.

At about eleven o'clock in the morning, M. de la Rosiere, a deputy of the district of St. Louis de la Culture, waited on the governor, and was accompanied by a mixed multitude of all descriptions. He entered alone into the house of the governor, and the people remained in the outer court. "I come, sir," said the deputy, "in the name of the nation, to represent to you, that the cannons which are levelled against the city from the towers of the Bastille have excited the most alarming apprehensions, and I must intreat that you will remove them." The governor replied, "that it was not in his power to remove the guns, as they had always been there, without an order from the king; that he would, however, dismount them, and turn them out of the embrasures."

brafures.” The deputy having with difficulty obtained leave from M. de Loſme, major of the fortrefs, to enter into the interior court, ſummoned the officers and ſoldiers in the name of honour and their country to alſo the direction of the guns, &c. and the whole of them, at the deſire even of the governor, engaged themſelves by oath to make no uſe of their arms, unleſs attacked. M. de la Roſiere, after having aſcended one of the towers with M. de Launay, went out of the caſtle, promiſing to engage the citizens to ſend a part of the national guard to do the duty of the Baſtille, in conjunction with the troops.

The deputy had ſcarcely retired, before a number of citizens approached the gate, and demanded arms and ammunition. As the majority of them were unarmed, and announced no hoſtile intention, M. de Launay made no difficulty of receiving them, and lowered the firſt drawbridge to admit them. The more determined of the party advanced to acquaint him with the object of their miſſion; but they had ſcarcely entered the firſt court, than the bridge was drawn up, and a general diſcharge of muſketry deſtroyed the greater part of theſe unfortunate people.

The motives of the governor for this apparent act of perfidy have never been explained; and it cannot be ſufficiently regretted, that the intemperate vengeance of the populace did not allow him to enter on his defence before ſome impartial court. All, therefore, that can be ſaid at preſent is, that its immediate effect was to raiſe the reſentment of the people almoſt to phrenſy. The inſtantaneous determination was to ſtorm the fortrefs, and the execution was as vigorous as the reſolution was daring. An immense multitude, armed with muſkets, ſabres, &c. ruſhed at once into the outer courts. A ſoldier, of the name of Tournay, climbed over the *corps-de-garde*, and leaped alone into the interior court. After ſearching in vain for the keys of the drawbridges in the *corps de-garde*, he called out for a hatchet; he ſoon broke the locks and the bolts; and being ſeconded by the efforts of the people on the other ſide, the two draw-bridges

bridges were immediately lowered. The people lost no time in making good their station, where for more than an hour they sustained a most severe fire from the garrison, and answered it with equal vigour.

During the contest, several deputations from the *Hôtel de Ville* appeared before the walls with flags of truce, intending to persuade the besieged to a peaceful surrender: but either they were not discovered amidst the general confusion, or, what is more probable, M. de Launay despaired of finding mercy at the hands of the populace, and still flattered himself with some delusive hope of deliverance. The guards, who now acted openly with the people, proved of essential service; and, by the advice of some of the veterans of this corps, three waggons loaded with straw were set on fire under the walls, the smoke of which interrupted the view, and consequently intercepted the aim of the besieged; while the assailants, being at a greater distance, were able to direct their fire to the battlements with an unerring aim. In the mean time the arsenal was stormed, and a most dreadful havoc was prevented there by the prudence and courage of M. Humbert, who first mounted the towers of the Bastille: A hair-dresser was in the very act of setting fire to the magazine of powder, when M. Humbert, whose notice was attracted by the cries of a woman, knocked the desperado down with the butt end of his musket; next, instantly seizing a barrel of salt-petre which had already caught fire, and turning it upside down, he was happy enough to extinguish it.

Nothing could equal the ardour and spirit of the besiegers: an immense crowd, as if unconscious of danger, filled the courts of the fortress in spite of the unremitted fire of the garrison, and even approached so near the towers, that M. de Launay himself frequently rolled large masses of stone from the platform upon their heads. Within, all was confusion and terror; the officers themselves served at the guns, and discharged their firelocks in the ranks. But when the governor saw the assailants take possession of the first bridge, and draw up their cannon against the second, his courage then

then was changed into despair, and even his understanding appeared to be deranged. He rashly sought to bury himself under the enormous mass, which he had in vain attempted to defend. While a turnkey was engaged in distributing wine to the soldiers, he caught the match from one of the pieces of cannon, and ran to the magazine with an intention to set it on fire: but a subaltern, of the name of Ferrand, repulsed him with his bayonet. He then went down to the *Tour de la Liberté*, where he had deposited a quantity of powder; but here also he was opposed by the sieur Beguard, another subaltern officer, who thus prevented an act of insanity which must have destroyed thousands of citizens, and with the Bastille would have infallibly blown up all the adjacent buildings, and a considerable part of the suburb of St. Antoine. De Launay at length proposed seriously to the garrison to blow up the fortrefs, as it was impossible that they could hope for mercy from the mob. But he was answered by the soldiers, that they would rather perish, than destroy in this insidious manner such a number of their fellow-citizens. He then hung out a white flag, intimating his desire to capitulate; and a Swiss officer would have addressed the assailants through one of the loop-holes of the draw-bridge; but the hour was past, and the exasperated populace would attend to no offer of capitulation. Through the same opening he next displayed a paper, which the distance prevented the besiegers from reading. A person brought a plank, which was rested on the parapet, and poised by a number of others. The brave unknown advanced upon the plank; but just as he was ready to seize upon the paper, he received a musket-shot, and fell into the ditch. He was followed by a young man of the name of Mailard, son to an officer of the chatelet, who was fortunate enough to reach the paper, the contents of which were—
“ We have twenty thousand pounds weight of gunpowder, and will blow up the garrison and all its environs, if you do not accept the capitulation.”—M. Elie, an officer of the queen’s regiment, who was invested with a kind of spontaneous authority, was for agreeing

agreeing to terms ; but the people indignantly rejected the very word capitulation, and immediately drew up to the spot three pieces of artillery.

The enemy now perceiving that the great bridge was going to be attacked, let down the small draw-bridge, which was to the left of the entrance into the fortress. Messrs. Elie. Hulin, Maillard, Reole, Humbert, Tournay, and some others, leaped instantly on the bridge, and securing the bolts, proceeded to the door. In the mean time the French guards, preserving their habitual coolness and discipline, formed a column on the other side of the bridge, to prevent the citizens from rushing upon it in too great numbers. An invalid came to open the gate behind the drawbridge, and asked the invaders what they wanted? " The surrender of the Bastille," they cried, and he permitted them to enter. The conquerors immediately lowered the great bridge, and the multitude entered without resistance—the invalids were ranged to the right, and the Swiss on the left hand, with their arms piled against the wall. They took off their hats, clapped their hands, and cried out *Bravo!* as the besiegers entered. The first moments of this meeting passed in peace and reconciliation : But some soldiers on the platforms, ignorant of the surrender, unhappily fired upon the people; who, suspecting a second act of perfidy, fell upon the invalids, two of whom, the unfortunate Beguard, who had prevented the governor from blowing up the Bastille, and another equally innocent, were dragged to the *Place de Grève*, and hanged.

The sieurs Maillard, Cholat, Arné, and some others, dispute the honour of having first seized M. de Launay. He was not in a uniform, but in a plain grey frock : He had a cane in his hand, and would have killed himself with the sword that it contained, but the grenadier Arné wrested it out of his hand. He was escorted by Messrs. Hulin, Arné, Legris, Elie, and some others, and every effort was exerted by these patriots to save his life, but in vain : They had scarcely arrived at the Hôtel de Ville before his defenders were overpowered, and even wounded by the enraged populace, and he fell under a thousand

wounds. M. de Losme Salbrai, his major, a gentleman distinguished for his virtues and his humanity, was also the victim of the popular fury. The marquis de Pelletport, who had been five years in the Bastille, and during that time had been treated by him with particular kindness, interposed to save him at the risk of his life; but was struck down by a hatchet, and M. de Losme was instantly put to death. The heads of the governor and the major were struck off, and carried on pikes through the streets of the city. The rage of the populace would not have ended here—the invalids who defended the fortress would all have been sacrificed, had not the humanity of the French guards interposed, and insisted on their pardon.

The keys of the Bastille were carried to M. Brissot de Warville, who had been a few years before an inhabitant of these caverns of despotism; and a guard of three thousand men was appointed over the fortress till the council at the Hotel de Ville should decree its demolition. In the intoxication of success the prisoners were forgotten; and as the keys had been carried to Paris, the dungeons were forced open---seven prisoners only were found, three of whom had lost their reason, having been detained there as state prisoners from the reign of Louis XV.

Thus, by the irresistible enthusiasm of liberty, in a few hours was reduced that fortress which mercenary armies had considered as impregnable, and which had been in vain besieged by the force of the great Condé for upwards of three weeks.

The fate of M. de Launay involved that of M. de Fleisselles the prévôt des marchands. He had long been suspected of a design to betray the people; and all his actions indeed apparently tended to that point. In the pocket of M. de Launay a letter from him was said to be discovered, which contained these remarkable words—“ I will amuse the Parisians with cockades and promises. Keep your station till the evening---you shall then have a reinforcement.” At the sight of this letter the unfortunate de Fleisselles was struck dumb. A voice was heard in the hall---“ Begone, M. de Fleisselles, you are a traitor.” “ I see,” said he, “ gentlemen, that
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I am not agreeable to you---I shall retire."---He hastened down the stairs; but as he crossed the Grève, accompanied by a number of persons to defend him, a young man, who had waited an opportunity, shot him with a pistol. His head was cut off, placed on a pike, and carried through the streets along with that of M. de Launay."

The first news of the taking of the Bastille was regarded by the court as an imposture of the popular party: It was, however, at length irresistibly confirmed. The first resolves of the ministry are said to have been desperate, and orders were issued to the commanders to push the projected movements with all possible vigour. In the dead of the night, marshall Broglie is said to have arrived to inform them that it was impossible to obey the mandate he had received of investing the hall of the national assembly with a train of artillery, as the soldiers would not comply with his orders. "Press then the siege of Paris," was the answer. The general replied, he could not depend on the army for the execution of that project.

The king was the only person in the palace who was kept totally ignorant of these transactions. The duke de Liancourt, a distinguished patriot, who was then master of the wardrobe, prevented the bloodshed which was apprehended: He forced his way in the middle of the night into the king's apartment, informed him of every circumstance, and announced to the count d'Artois that a price was set upon his head. The intelligence of the duke was supported by the authority of Monsieur, who accompanied him, and the king was immediately convinced that he had been deceived by evil counsels. Early the next morning the monarch appeared in the assembly, but without the pomp and parade of despotism. His address was affectionate and conciliatory. He lamented the disturbances at Paris; disavowed all consciousness of any meditated attack on the persons of the deputies; and added, that he had issued orders for the immediate removal of the troops from the vicinity of the metropolis. It is impossible to express the feelings of the assembly on this affecting occasion. The tear of sympathy started into almost every eye. An expressive silence first pervaded the

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assembly, which presently was succeeded by a burst of applause and acclamation. The king rose to return to the palace; and the deputies, by a sudden impulse, formed a train of loyalty, in which all distinction of orders was forgotten, and accompanied him to the royal apartments. The joy became general throughout Versailles; the people flocked to the palace, where the queen, with the dauphin in her arms, shewed herself from a balcony. The music in the mean time played the pathetic air, *Ou peut on être mieux qu' au sein de sa famille*, which was only interrupted by shouts of loyalty, and exclamations of joy. On their return to the hall, the assembly appointed a deputation to convey this happy intelligence to the metropolis.

CHAP. XXIII.

Subsidy to the landgrave of Hesse—The meeting of Parliament—the Hessian Subsidy discussed—Declaratory Act respecting Mr. Pitt's India Bill—State of the revenues of India—Sir William Dolbin's Bill to regulate the carriage of Slaves—Compensation to the American loyalists—State of the peace establishment and revenue—Trial of Mr. Hastings—Proceedings upon the impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey—The king puts an end to the Session—Death of the pretender—The empress of Russia and the emperor of Germany join in a war against the Turks—State of the Crimea—The Austrians besiege Belgrade—Paul Jones appointed to go to the Black Sea—The Russians take Oczakow—War between Sweden and Russia—Admiral Greig gains a victory over the Swedes—Denmark joins Russia against Sweden—Great exertions of the King of Sweden to repel the Danes—Prince Charles of Hesse invades Sweden—England, Prussia, and Holland interfere to prevent the ruin of Sweden—They settle an armistice for six months.

[A. D. 1788 to 1789.]

IN the course of those preparations which were judged necessary by the British ministry, during the pendency of the disputes in Holland, a treaty was entered into by his Britannic majesty with the landgrave of Hesse, by which that prince engaged to furnish a body of twelve thousand troops, in consideration of a subsidy of 36,000*l.* per annum. The subsidizing of the German princes is the great gulph into which the wealth of England has been profusely precipitated since the period of the revolution. Common sense would dictate that a commercial island should carefully abstain from mixing in the disputes of the continental powers, since the ascertaining of their boundaries, and the succession of their despots, can be but little interesting to a country situated like England. But unhappily the British nation has been the dupe of alarms of different kinds, from almost the remotest periods

of history. The *protestant interest*, the *balance of Europe*, a *popish pretender*, have cost this country more than the œconomy of centuries could repair. At one crisis the English were terrified by the gigantic ambition of Louis XIV. at another, by the increasing power of the house of Austria; at one time their religion, at another their commerce, has been in danger. War has generally been the remedy for all these alarms, and the infatuated people have plunged into the very evil which they affected to dread, while they fancied they were avoiding it.

The deranged state of affairs on the continent of Europe, had induced the ministry to summon a meeting of the British parliament at an earlier period than had been usual for several years. On the 27th of November 1787, the session was opened by a speech from the throne, the principal topics of which were, the happy termination of the troubles in Holland, and the treaty which had been concluded with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. When the motion for an address was made, Mr. Fox entered into an animated speech on the impolicy of expending British blood and treasure in maintaining what was called the balance of Europe. He considered the speech from the throne, as a public avowal that those principles which had been stigmatised as romantic, was still the system which the court meant to pursue:---It was saying to the nation, "Taxed as you are in your candles, your windows, and all the necessaries of life, labouring at present under the heaviest burdens, you must contribute something more for maintaining the balance of Europe." He animadverted on the insidious policy of the despotic government of France, which, he observed, was still disposed to disturb the tranquillity of Europe, notwithstanding the derangement of its finances.

The Hessian treaty underwent a long discussion in the House of Commons on the 5th of December, when Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke made some pointed animadversions upon some of the articles. The article by which it was stipulated, "that the Hessian troops should not be liable to be transported by sea, unless for the immediate defence of Great Britain and Ireland," was mentioned as a pecu-
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liarly unfortunate exception, since, by the constitution, the king was not empowered to employ those troops at home, unless with the express concurrence of parliament, while he might probably want them, as in the last war, to serve in Gibraltar, the West Indies, or America. Mr. Burke observed also, that the present treaty was not merely a subsidiary treaty, but a treaty of alliance, and with this formidable probability annexed to it, that, in case of a war on the continent, instead of receiving ten thousand troops from Hesse, we might be obliged to lend that country ten, twenty, or a hundred thousand men. Notwithstanding these arguments, the subsidy was voted without a division. The opposition side of the house made also several strong observations upon the ordnance estimates; a corps of artificers which was proposed to be raised, particularly excited the pointed ridicule of Mr. Courtenay. He exposed, in happy terms, the absurdity of estimating the merits of carpenters, masons, and bricklayers, not by their skill in their respective trades, but by their height; and observed that the master-general expected men who could earn half a crown *per diem* at their trade, to enlist for less than one third of the money, in the double capacity of artificers and soldiers.

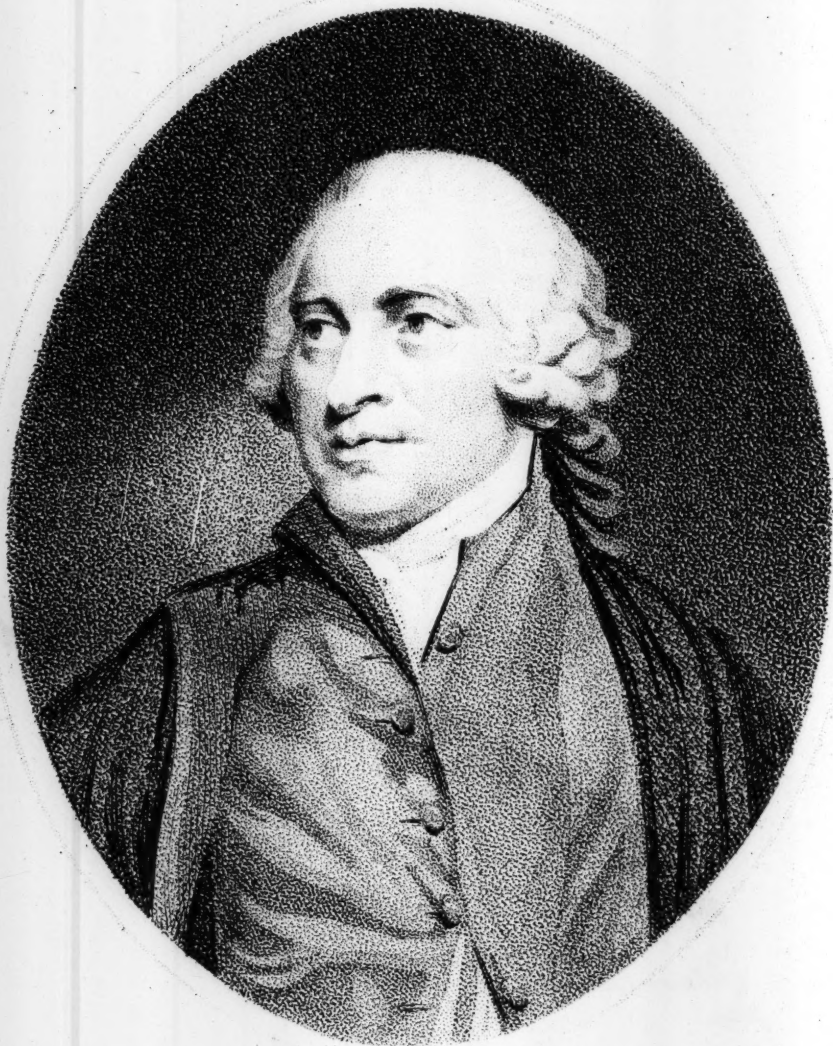
Such were the principal transactions of parliament during the remainder of the year. About this time lord Howe resigned his office of first lord of the Admiralty, and was succeeded by the earl of Chatham. The earl of Mansfield resigned the chief justiceship of England, which he had held with high reputation for the period of thirty-two years, to the attorney-general, sir Lloyd Kenyon, now created lord Kenyon.

Soon after the christmas recess (1788,) the minister brought forward his famous *declaratory act*, by which various new and important powers were conferred on the board of control under pretext of explaining and determining the *sense* of Mr. Pitt's India regulation bill. This measure met with a most animated and formidable opposition. Colonel Barré protested that he had from the first discerned the traces of a system of Indian patronage, of which he believed the bill under discussion to be a great
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advance to the final completion; and if it should be suffered to pass, a fatal stab would be given to the constitution. Mr. Sheridan called upon the house to compare the power of Mr. Fox's commissioners with those which were now asserted to belong to the board of control. Lord Fitzwilliam could not send out a dispatch; he could neither collect the revenues of the company, nor apply them to the purposes he should think proper, without having first the pleasure of the king signified to him through the medium of the secretary of state. The board of control could do all this. The minister had now violated that compact with the company on which he originally and professedly stood—how then could he escape the ignominy of deliberately breaking his solemn engagements?

Mr. Burke desired to be informed by administration, “whether, when they brought in the India bill of 1784, and complained that Mr. Fox's bill took too much, they had honestly stated that all they meant to take was the military power, the political direction, the management of the revenue, and as much as they could get of the commerce? The question then to have put to the house would have been, in whose hands they were willing this power should be entrusted? In the hands of seven of the most respectable men in the kingdom, of parliamentary appointment, or with the shreds and remnants of office? The public had been at that time infatuated, hurried on to madness. The mob of 1784 had destroyed the house of commons, and in so doing they had destroyed the palladium of their privileges; but he now indulged the hope of seeing the house rise like a phoenix regenerated from its ashes.” The question for committing the bill was carried by a majority of fifty-seven voices only; and on being carried in the house of lords it experienced a second opposition nearly equal to the first, and when it passed it was accompanied with a protest signed by sixteen peers, in which the declaratory bill was reprobated as friendly to corrupt intrigue and cabal, hostile to all good government, and abhorrent to the principles of our constitution. The patronage of the company was said to be enjoyed by the commissioners in the worst of all possible forms, and
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RIGHT HON. H. DUNDAS.

without that responsibility which was the natural security against malversation and abuse. In some degree to palliate this odious measure, by which the company were forever deprived of all efficient authority in India, they were empowered by a subsequent bill to borrow, for the relief of their financial embarrassments, the sum of 1,200,000*l.* of which, notwithstanding the pretended flourishing conditions of their affairs, they stood in immediate and urgent necessity.

Mr. Dundas, on the 23d of May, laid before the house a statement of the revenues of India. The surplus of the revenues of Bengal amounted to 1,250,000*l.*; the surplus of those of Madras, to 38,000*l.*; and the deficiency of the revenue of Bombay, he stated at 300,000*l.* In the course of the following week a petition was presented to the house by the East India Company, complaining of certain pecuniary embarrassments, arising from the arrears of the war, the government claim of 500,000*l.* the debt incurred in China, and the advances necessary to be made for the purposes of the China trade. For the relief of the company, Mr. Pitt moved that they should be empowered to borrow a sum not exceeding 1,200,000*l.* but he observed at the same time, that in the year 1791, they would probably have more than three millions above the discharge of all their incumbrances. The measure was carried through both houses of parliament without opposition.

Perhaps nothing can mark the progress of mankind in civilization and intellectual excellence with so much accuracy, as the extension of their cares and attentions beyond the narrow circle of self-interest, and directing them to the reform of those systems of oppression, which the ignorance, inattention, and inhumanity of mankind have suffered to receive the sanction of time, and the authority of law. One of the most important proofs of the influence of knowledge and literature exhibited by the present age, was the general attention which, about the period we are now recording, was excited to the cruelty and injustice of the African slave-trade. One of the first writers who appears to have noticed the inhumanity and

unlawfulness of the practice was the celebrated bishop Warburton, who, in a sermon preached in 1766, inveighed against the traffic with all that energy and vehemence by which his compositions are so much distinguished.

Sir William Dolben, member for the university of Oxford, in the course of this session, brought a bill into the house, to regulate the transportation of slaves from the coast of Africa to the West Indies. Early in the year a great number of petitions had been presented from different towns, cities, and counties of the kingdom, imploring, in earnest and affecting terms, the abolition of that nefarious and detestable traffic. A motion on the subject of these petitions was expected to be made by Mr. Wilberforce, member for Yorkshire; but in consequence of the long, protracted, and unfortunate indisposition of that gentleman, Mr. Pitt, on the 9th of May, moved a resolution, importing that the house should early in the next session proceed to take into consideration the state of the slave trade. The bill of sir William Dolben, which was intended merely to establish a certain reasonable proportion between the number of the slaves and the tonnage of the ships, was violently and obstinately opposed by petitions from the merchants of London and Liverpool, concerned in the African trade. Counsel being therefore engaged, and witnesses examined, it appeared in evidence at the bar of the house, that five feet six inches in length, and sixteen inches in breadth, was the average space allotted to each slave. The lower deck of the vessel was entirely covered with bodies. The space between the floor of that deck and the roof above, in height about five feet eight inches, was divided by a platform, also covered with human bodies. The slaves were chained two and two by their hands and feet, and by means of ring-bolts fastened to the deck. In these sultry climes through which their passage lay, their allowance was a pint of water each *per diem*; and they were usually fed twice a day with yams and horse beans. After meals they were compelled by the whip to jump in their irons, which, by the slave-dealers, was called dancing. They had not, as was emphatically stated, when stowed together
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so much room as a man in his coffin, either in length or breadth. They drew their breath with laborious and anxious efforts, and many died of mere suffocation.

Mr. Pitt declared, on this occasion, "That if, as had been said by the members for Liverpool, the trade could not be carried on in any other manner, he would retract what he had said on a former day, and, waving every further discussion, give his instant vote for the annihilation of a traffic thus shocking to humanity. He trusted that the house, being now in possession of such evidence as was never before exhibited, would endeavour to extricate themselves from the guilt and remorse which every man ought to feel for having so long overlooked such cruelty and oppression." On the 18th the bill was carried up to the house of lords, where it was fated to encounter the determined opposition of lord Thurlow. His lordship said, that the bill was full of inconsistency and nonsense. The duke of Chandos and lord Sydney spoke also against the bill. It was defended by the duke of Richmond and marquis Townshend in a manner which did honour to their understanding and feelings; and it finally passed by a considerable majority.

On the 8th of June, the chancellor of the exchequer called the attention of the house to the compensation which was intended to be made to the American loyalists, on account of losses sustained by them in consequence of their adherence to this country during the American war. The minister proposed to pay to the West Florida claimants the full amount of their claims, because they stood in a very different predicament from the North American claimants, having, in consequence of a peace, which ceded Florida to another power, and which that house had agreed to, been obliged to quit their habitations and property in West Florida. After some discussion, 1,228,239 l. was voted to the several American claimants for losses, &c. and 113,952 l. to the Florida claimants.

The permanent peace establishment, which had been stated this year, by the chancellor of the exchequer, at 15,654,000 l. had been increased by the additional West India

India establishment, and the subsidy to the landgrave of Hesse. The permanent revenue he stated at 15,792,000 l. He added, that, in the course of five years, the revenue had increased to the extent of five millions, of which only one million and a half had accrued from the new taxes, and the remainder proceeded from the actual improvements in the manufactures and commerce of the country.

We shall now proceed to state the particulars of the trial of Warren Hastings, which took place this session in Westminster-hall. In the last chapter the business of the impeachment was brought down to the order with which he was served, by the house of lords, to put in his answers to the charges exhibited against him by the commons, on the first Tuesday after the next meeting of parliament. The same being accordingly delivered by him at the bar, a message was sent to the house of commons, on Wednesday the fifth of December, to inform them, "That Warren Hastings, esq. at their bar, had delivered in answers to the articles of impeachment charged against him by the honourable the house of commons, and that the lords had sent a true copy of the said answers for the use of that honourable house."

The answers being read short, *pro forma*, Mr. Burke moved, "That the said answers be referred to the consideration of a committee;" which having been agreed to, and Mr. Burke being named, by the chancellor of the exchequer, as the first member, Mr. Burke then named Philip Francis, esq. and, upon the question being put, the house divided, ayes 23, noes 97.

Mr. Burke, upon this, rose and declared, that of such material assistance had they deprived him, in rejecting Mr. Francis, that he scarcely knew how to proceed, and felt the cause to be in some degree *damned* by the recent act of the house. He reminded them of the seriousness and solemnity of the whole proceeding, a proceeding which, after deep and frequent deliberation, had been brought step by step to its present advanced stage, and ought to be continued during the remaining
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part of its progress with equal steadiness and uniformity. He admonished the house, that their conduct in this very important and grave transaction was a matter most highly interesting to the national character, and that, consequently, they were amenable for every one of their proceedings respecting it at the high and awful tribunal of the public and the world at large. He pressed them to consider of the dangerous effect of their appearing in the smallest degree to prevaricate in the course of the prosecution, and urged the manifest injury and injustice of changing their committee, and rejecting any one of the members of the former committee without a reason previously assigned. The only presumeable reasons for rejecting any one member of the former committee could be no other than two; either a general disqualification on general grounds, or a personal disqualification from inability or unsuitness to assist in conducting the prosecution. Both these questions had been already decided; and the house would have acted wickedly and weakly in suffering his honourable friend to take so great a part in the proceeding hitherto, and to have adopted his ideas, if they had judged him to be disqualified to take a share in the business. The fact was, his honourable friend was most eminently qualified to assist in the prosecution; for through his superior knowledge of it, had all the charge relative to the revenues been made out and established, and so greatly had he himself been aided and assisted by the information which he had received from his honourable friend, that he in his honour and conscience declared, he felt himself disqualified from conducting the remainder of the prosecution safely and securely without him. It was, for this reason, essential to himself, and essential to the house, and their joint credit, that his honourable instructor and associate (for so he might justly term him) should continue a member of the committee. Why the house had, by their recent vote, thought proper to reject the future assistance of his honourable friend, he was utterly at a loss to guess; -- that those members who had uniformly expressed a disinclination to the prosecution, and in almost every stage

of it endeavoured to put a stop to it, should have made a part of the majority, on the late division, was natural enough; because nothing could be more consistent than for those who had declared themselves adverse to any prosecution, to endeavour to take away the means of pursuing it, when once a prosecution was instituted; but for many of the gentlemen of another description, who had cordially co-operated and assisted in the investigation, previous to the matter's having assumed the regular shape and form of a criminal process, to concur in a vote which embarrassed and weakened the cause, and endangered its ultimate event, was to him a circumstance altogether unaccountable. The committee then naming, was not the committee of managers, and therefore not of equal importance; but so fully was he convinced of the great utility and importance of the assistance of his honourable friend, that he should feel himself, who knew the subject as well as most men, so exceedingly crippled and enfeebled without the advantage of his honourable friend's superior information, that when the day for naming the next committee should come, he would again appeal to the sense of the house, and try to have his honourable friend reinstated.

Mr. Fox followed Mr. Burke, and appealed seriously to the gentlemen on the other side upon one particular resulting from their late vote, by which they had thrown so great a discountenance on the prosecution; and that was, the necessity of filling the chasm in the committee, which they had occasioned by rejecting the only member who, from every consideration, appeared to be the most proper to be upon it. Mr. Fox, therefore, submitted it to the consideration of the other side of the house, whether it would not be right and becoming in them to supply the vacancy, by naming, from among themselves, some person of acknowledged information upon the subject? He suggested the right honourable gentleman at the head of the India board; but said, that he would agree to the nomination of any other well-informed gentleman, whom the other side of the house might consider as a proper person for their acceptance. No notice being

being taken of his address, Mr. Burke proceeded to nominate the committee, which consisted of the same persons as the former, with the addition of Mr. Wilbraham, Mr. Fitzpatrick, and Mr. Courtenay.

Mr. Burke then moved, "that the committee be armed with the usual powers," which was agreed to.

On the Friday following (December 7th), Mr. Burke brought up from the committee a replication to the answers of Mr. Hastings, in which the commons, in the usual form, aver their charges against the said Warren Hastings to be true; and that they will be ready to prove the same against him, at such convenient time and place as shall be appointed for that purpose. The replication was ordered, the next day of sitting, to be carried by Mr. Burke up to the lords, who appointed Wednesday, the 13th of February, for proceeding upon the trial in Westminster-hall.

In the mean time committees were appointed by both houses to search the records of parliament for precedents relative to the mode of proceeding in trials by impeachment, and the necessary orders were made for their accommodation in Westminster-hall, for the admission of spectators, the attendance of witnesses, and other matters respecting the regularity of their proceeding. On the 13th of February the trial commenced with the usual formalities. The counsel who appeared for the defendant were, Mess. Law, Plumer, and Dallas. The assistant counsel for the commons, Dr. Scott and Dr. Lawrence, Messrs. Mansfield, Pigott, Burke, and Douglas.

The two first days were consumed in reading the articles of impeachment, and the answers of Mr. Hastings. On the third, (February 15th), the anxiety of the public to hear Mr. Burke was so great, that the galleries of the hall were full before nine o'clock. About twelve the peers were seated, to the number of 164; and, the managers being called upon by the chancellor to proceed, Mr. Burke rose, and said, that he stood forth, by order of the commons of Great Britain, to support the charge of high crimes and misdemeanors, which they had exhibited against Warren Hastings, esq. and that he had a body

of evidence to produce to substantiate the whole and every part of those charges.

That the gentlemen joined with him in that duty, had instructed him to open the cause with an account of the grounds upon which the house had proceeded, and with a general view of the nature of the crimes with which they charged him, together with an explanation of such concomitant circumstances, relative both to the crimes themselves, and the manners of the people amongst whom they were committed, as were necessary to elucidate the charge.

After some general observations upon the quality of the cause, as leading to a decision not only upon facts, but upon principles; as involving the character and honour of the British government, and, in an especial manner, the credit, and even the future existence of that high mode of parliamentary proceeding (of the spirit and effects of which, in the British constitution, he gave a concise and pointed description) he adverted to the grounds upon which the commons had proceeded. The dreadful disorders of our Indian government were acknowledged. It was not, he said, till after every mode of legislative prevention had been tried without effect, till they found, during a course of fourteen years, that inquiries, and resolutions, and laws, were equally disregarded, that they had had recourse to a penal prosecution; and he trusted that it would be found they had made such a choice, with respect both to the crimes and the criminal, and the mode of proceeding, as would recommend that course of justice to posterity, even if it had not been sanctioned by the practice of our forefathers.

Mr. Burke then gave an account of the previous proceedings in the house of commons, in which, he said, every precedent that could be found favourable to the party accused, and some measures even of an unusual kind, had been adopted; and that it was chiefly upon the facts admitted by the criminal in his defence, and the principles therein maintained by him, that they proceeded, and proceeded with confidence, to that bar. He then stated the quality of the crimes charged, which, he said, were

were neither the lapses of human frailty, nor had arisen from the exigencies of an overruling necessity. They were crimes originating in passions which it was criminal to harbour, and such as argued a total extinction of moral principle; crimes committed upon deliberation, against advice, supplication, and remonstrance, and against the direct commands of lawful authority. As to the criminal, he said, that they had made choice of no puny offender, but the first in rank, authority, and station; under whom, as the head, all the peculation and tyranny of India was embodied, disciplined, and paid, and in striking at whom, therefore, they would strike at the whole corps.

Having gone through these preliminary points, Mr. Burke proceeded to open the matter of the charge. He stated, that the powers delegated to Mr. Hastings by the India company, and which he was charged with having abused, were derived from two sources: the charter granted by the crown under the authority of parliament, and the grant from the Mogul emperor of the Dewanné, or high stewardship of Bengal, in the year 1766. He here combated an opinion that had been industriously circulated, that the acts of the servants of the company in India, were not cognizable here. He proved, that in the first case they were responsible to the parliament of Great Britain directly; that under the second they were responsible for the good government of the country immediately to the Mogul emperor, by the condition of their grant; and that, upon the annihilation of his power, the duty still remained, and their responsibility was thrown back upon the country from which their original power flowed; Great Britain, when it assented to that grant of office, and afterwards took advantage of it, becoming virtually a guarantee for the performance of its duties. The people of India, therefore, came in the name of the commons of Great Britain, but in their own right, to the seat of the imperial justice of this kingdom, whence originally all the powers, under which they have suffered, were derived.

Having settled the point of responsibility, Mr. Burke briefly stated the several powers granted to the company, from its first establishment in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and the means by which it rose to the exalted situation of dominion and empire in which it now stands. In its external arrangements and constitution it, however, still remained upon a mercantile plan. In this system he first took notice of the regulation, by which all their servants are obliged to go through a regular gradation of offices, from the lowest to the highest; stated the advantages arising therefrom, and the mischievous effects of the total disregard which Mr. Hastings paid to the spirit of this order, whenever it suited his own views.

The other circumstances arising out of the constitution of the company's government in India, upon which he remarked, were principally the—The *esprit du corps*, which necessarily prevailed in a body of men, without check or control upon the spot, having one common interest, and that interest separated from the interest both of the country which sent them out, and of the country in which they acted:—The high and important trusts, which were held by them under insignificant names, and the inadequacy of their salaries to the real dignity of their employments—circumstances, which made it next to impossible, for men, whose object was an early enjoyment of their fortunes at home, to remain incorrupt in that service:—Lastly, the youth of the persons sent out to India, and their immediate accession to employments of boundless power, and particularly to high judicial powers, which, under the new regulations planned by sir Elijah Impey, were expressly directed to be conferred on the junior servants of the company. Of these several circumstances, Mr. Burke shewed that Mr. Hastings had criminally availed himself; and that he had been thereby enabled, as it were, to embody abuse, and to put himself at the head of a regular system of corruption. To these he added, the covenants entered into with the company by their servants, and shewed in what manner they had also been perverted, by Mr. Hastings, into

into a means of supporting the same corrupt confederacy.

The last instrument of fraud and oppression taken notice of by Mr. Burke, was the *Banyan*; of the nature of whose office, as it was calculated both for the practice and concealment of every species of tyranny and speculation, he gave a detailed description. He then adverted to one institution, taken from the mercantile constitution of the company, of consummate wisdom, and which might have proved a powerful corrective of all the other abuses to which their service was in its own nature disposed: this was the obligation which their servants were under, by express covenant, to keep a journal of their transactions, public and private; a letter-book, in which all their letters were to be entered; and, lastly, to keep a written record, not only of all the proceedings, resolutions, and orders, made in their councils, but also of the arguments used, and the opinions delivered by each separate member. Mr. Burke, after stating the importance of this great instrument of correction and control, charged Mr. Hastings with having endeavoured to destroy or render it of no effect, by introducing a distinction between public and private correspondence; by dispensing with the orders of the company, in boards appointed by his own authority; and, lastly, by the actual spoliation and destruction of part of the company's records.

Having gone through the constitution of the company, and marked the abuses of the powers which Mr. Hastings derived under it, he proceeded to the powers with which the company were invested by the charter of the Mogul emperor, and which were also delegated to him.

The inhabitants of India, who, in consequence of that charter, became virtually subjects of the British empire, are, he said, of two descriptions; the first were, the *Hindoos* or *Gentoos*, the original inhabitants of *Hindustan*. Of this people, their peculiar customs, manners, and religion, and of the beneficial moral and civil effects arising therefrom, as they appeared in the first

first period of their history, he gave a concise account; adverting, as he proceeded, to the just policy which these circumstances should have dictated to our government, and pointing out the new sources of tyranny and oppression with which they had furnished Mr. Hastings. Having stated the happy and flourishing condition of India under the original native government, he continued their history through the several revolutions that took place, from the irruption of the Arabians, soon after the time of Mahomet, to the usurpation of Verdi Ali Khan, and the establishment of the English power in 1756: And he proved, in opposition to the argument urged by Mr. Hastings, in his defence, viz. "that the native princes held their dominions as mere vassals under their conquerors," that neither under the government of the Arabian nor Tartarian invaders, nor of the usurping soubahs and nabobs, were the native princes and zemindars dispossessed of their estates, and the jurisdictions annexed to them; but that, up to the last unfortunate period, they preserved their independent rank and dignity, their forts, their seignories, and always the right, sometimes also the means of protecting the people under them. Here Mr. Burke closed his first day's speech, which lasted upwards of three hours.

Mr. Burke began his second speech, February 16th, with an animating description of the blessings which it was just to expect that India would derive from the increasing power and influence of the British settlements in that part of the world. These expectations, he said, had proved delusive, and it became us, therefore, seriously to think how the mischief was to be repaired. To obtain empire, had been a common thing; to govern it well, had been more rare; but to chastise, by its justice, the guilt of those who had abused the power of their country, was, he hoped, a glory reserved to this nation, this time, and that high court.

He then resumed the history of Bengal from the usurpation of Verdi Ali Khan; whose successor, Serajah Dowlah, by attacking the English settlement at Calcutta, brought upon himself the resentment of this country, and was

was dethroned by lord Clive. Meer Jaffier, a treacherous servant of Serajah's, was placed upon the throne, and for this service Meer Jaffier engaged to pay a million to the company, and upwards of another million to individuals in their employment. This dangerous example discovered the facility with which revolutions might be effected in India, and a certain source of enormous emolument to those who had the direction of them. Accordingly, lord Clive had no sooner quitted India, than his successors projected another revolution, by which Meer Jaffier was to be deposed, and Cossim Ali Khan, his son-in-law, a man of an intriguing and ferocious character, was to be placed in his room. In this drama Mr. Hastings, who was then resident at the soubah's court, and whose co-operation, in betraying that prince, was absolutely necessary, made his first public appearance.

Whilst this project was ripening for execution, an under-plot was brought upon the stage, in which Meer Jaffier proposes a plan to the English commander in chief, and through him to the council, for getting possession of the person of the Shah Zaddah, or eldest son of the Mogul, and putting him to death. This proposition was, ostensibly only as was afterwards alleged, acceded to; an instrument was drawn up, in which the reward to be given to the assassin was specified, and the seals of the nabob, of his son, and of the company affixed; from which circumstance it obtained the name of the story of the three seals. In an inquiry which was afterwards made into this transaction at Calcutta, by order of the court of directors, (but which Mr. Burke endeavoured, by a variety of proofs, to shew was clearly collusive) the English party was honourably acquitted. This whole business, in which Mr. Hastings appears sometimes as an accomplice, and finally as a judge, is recorded in the appendix, No 10, to the first report of the Indian committee, which date 1773; and Mr. Burke called the attention of the court particularly to it, as exhibiting a striking instance, not only of the horrible condition of the company's government in India, at that period, but
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of the collusive practices and dangerous combinations by which every attempt to correct it was frustrated.

Mr. Burke then proceeded in his account of the main revolution, related the story of the extraordinary death of the soubah's eldest son, by which a material obstacle was removed, and, finally, of the deposition of Meer Jaffier, the advancement of Cossim Ali, and the rewards paid to the company and their servants for their services in this complicated act of treachery, violence, and injustice. He then adverted to the consequences of this revolution upon the miserable natives, who were harassed and oppressed, in the most cruel and outrageous manner, by the tyrant we had set up, in order to make them contribute to compensate him for the revenues of the provinces he had ceded, and the money he had given to the company. He concluded this part of his speech with reminding the court, that the acts of this nefarious tyrant were amongst the examples and precedents by which Mr. Hastings, in his defence, had chosen to justify his own conduct.

The history of a third revolution followed, in which Cossim Ali Khan, who soon after made war upon the English, with circumstances of the most shocking cruelty, was worsted, and Meer Jaffier restored to a nominal authority, but not without the usual ceremony of further concessions to the company, and rewards to individuals.

From the sale of kingdoms and princes, which began to grow too rank and notorious, they proceeded to the sale of prime ministers and official departments. There were at this time, at the court of the soubah, two persons of great consideration, the most eminent of their respective denominations, the one a Gentoo, called the great rajah Nundcomar, the other a Mahomedan, called Mahomet Reza Khan. The soubah, who had some jealous fears of the latter, on account of his high birth and authority, which, in case of any civil commotion, might possibly lead him to aspire to the office of soubahdar, attached himself strongly to Nundcomar, whose religion disqualified him from becoming his rival, and he appointed him to be his naib or deputy. Of this competition

tion the English council, in whom all the efficient power resided, were resolved to profit. The office was put up to auction; both parties bid largely, bribe was opposed to bribe, and at length they took the money of Mahomet Reza Khan, which amounted to about 220,000*l.* deeming him more likely to keep the nabob in a fitter condition for future exactions. The nabob soon after died, a victim to this last, and the other insults and oppressions he had suffered. His successor, from the same policy, manifesting the same attachment to Nund-comar, he was brought down to Calcutta, where, afterwards having the weakness to become the first informer against Mr. Hastings, he was made the first example, was charged with having been guilty of forgery, and hanged.

Whilst these transactions were carrying on in India, the directors, foreseeing that unless a stop was speedily put to the mal-practices of their servants, they might end in the utter destruction of the company, sent out lord Clive with full authority to redress and to reform. To strike at the root of the evil, their servants were obliged to enter into new covenants not to receive any presents; lord Clive, with admirable wisdom, put a bound to their aspiring spirit, limited the conquests of the company, gave peace to its enemies, and provided generously for its allies, made an honourable settlement with the mogul, and, finally, left the company in possession of the dewannee or high-stewardship of Bengal, by which they obtained the entire disposition of the revenue: the forms of royalty, and the administration of criminal justice, were left to the soubah, with a revenue of 500,000 *l.* and the collection of the revenue remained in the hands of the deputy soubah, Mahomet Reza Khan. Two commissions were afterwards appointed by the company for the purpose of carrying these regulations into further effect, neither of which reached India; and in 1773 a council was nominated by parliament, at the head of which Mr. Hastings was placed, as governor-general.

When this government was settled, Morshedabad still continued the seat of the native government, and of all
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the collections. The company had a resident at the durbar or court of the nabob, as a control over the native collector; and this was the first step to our assuming the government in that country, which by degrees came afterwards to be established, and superseded that of the natives.—The next step that was made, was the appointment of supervisors in every province, to oversee the native collectors.—The third was to establish a general council of revenue at Morshedabad, to superintend the great steward, Mahomet Reza Khan; and in 1772 that council was suppressed by Mr. Hastings, and the whole control brought to Calcutta; Mahomet Reza Khan was turned out of all his offices, for reasons, and upon principles, which in the course of the trial would appear; and at last the dewannee was entirely taken out of the native's hands in the first instance, and settled in the six provincial councils. There it remained until the year 1781, when Mr. Hastings made another revolution, took it out of their hands, and put it in a subordinate council, the authority of which entirely vested in himself.

Having stated these revolutions and abuses, and the abuses that grew out of them, and shewn in what manner the native government had almost totally vanished in Bengal, or was at least reduced to such a situation, as to be fit for nothing but to become a private perquisite to speculators, Mr. Burke proceeded to the English government, in which Mr. Hastings, first as president appointed by the company, and afterwards as governor-general nominated by parliament, had the principal share.—It was for crimes committed in these two stations that he now stood accused. Before he entered upon the consideration of the crimes themselves, he thought it necessary to make a few observations upon the test by which his conduct ought to be tried, and upon the principles on which Mr. Hastings had founded his defence.

The rule, he said, by which their lordships would try him, was this: What should a British governor, acting upon British principles, in such a situation, do or forbear? If he has done, and if he has forborne, in
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the manner in which a British governor ought to do and to forbear, he has done his duty, and is honourably acquitted.—But Mr. Hastings had recourse to other principles and other maxims. He asserts, in several of his letters to the East India company, and in a paper, called his Defence, that actions in Asia do not bear the same moral qualities, as the same actions would do in Europe. After treating with some humour, and, lastly, solemnly protesting against this geographical morality, Mr. Burke entered into a large and serious discussion of the other ground on which Mr. Hastings rested his defence, namely, that the Asiatic governments were all despotic;—that he did not make the people slaves, but found them such; that the sovereignty he was called to exercise was an arbitrary sovereignty, and that he had exercised it, and that no other power could be exercised in the country;—“that the whole history of Asia was nothing more than precedents to prove the invariable exercise of arbitrary power;—that sovereignty implied nothing else, from Cabool to Assam;—and that Verdi Ali Khân, and Cossim Ali Khân, fined all their zemindars, on every pretence, either of court necessity or court extravagance.”

In opposition to this defence, Mr. Burke undertook, first, to shew that the claim of absolute power was utterly inconsistent with all legal government; that the legislature had it not to bestow; that the company could not receive, and had it not to give; that it could be acquired neither by conquest, succession, nor compact; and that they who give, and they who receive it, are equally criminal. That this idea of arbitrary power had arisen from confounding it with the prerogative necessarily inherent to the supreme power of being unaccountable, *i. e.* not subject in any ordinary way to penal prosecution for its actions. That the intermediate arbitrary power claimed by Mr. Hastings, by which the people below were to be subject to him, and he irresponsible to the power above, was an insolent extravagance that could not be listened to with patience.

In the second place, Mr. Burke denied that the governments of Asia were in fact of the kind described by Mr. Hastings, "in which the power of the sovereign was every thing, and the rights of the subject nothing." Every Mahomedan government must be a government by law, by the laws of the Koran, which, so far from countenancing arbitrary power, are in many parts expressly directed against all oppressors. The interpreters and conservators of this law are made independent of, and secure from, the resentments of the executive power. In the Turkish government, the grand signor is so far from possessing arbitrary power, that he cannot impose a tax, he cannot touch the life, property, or liberty of his subjects, he cannot declare war or peace, without what is called a *sesta*, or sentence of the law. With respect to the Indian Mahomedan governments, Mr. Hastings had asserted, that the institutes of Genghis Khân and of Tamerlane are formed on arbitrary principles. This assertion, so far as a judgment could be formed from the ten precepts of Genghis Khân, was totally unfounded; and as to the latter, Mr. Burke read several passages from the translation of his Institutes, which were of a spirit the very reverse. In addition to these, Mr. Burke gave a short account of the civil jurisprudence of the Mahomedans, and cited two cases, in one of which a governor, who had levied an arbitrary toll upon a market, was put to death with torture; and, in the other, a minister was publicly disgraced, and stripped of all his offices, for the receipt of presents. Nor could Mr. Hastings, he said, find shelter in the Gentoo law. He had himself been the means of furnishing us with considerable extracts from their written body of law, which appeared to proscribe every idea of arbitrary will in magistrates.

Mr. Hastings's next attempt was to justify himself by the examples and practice of others. But who were they? Tyrants and usurpers. He makes the corrupt practices of mankind the principles of his government; he collects together the vicious examples of all the robbers and plunderers of Asia, forms the mass of their
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abuses into a code, and calls it the duty of a British governor.—Mr. Burke then made a few observations upon the plea of his having left England early in life, uninstructed in juridical knowledge, and of his having acted in a situation where he could not have that assistance which ministers in other situations usually derived from the knowledge and information of others. This, Mr. Burke said, might have been some excuse for misconduct of another kind, for a lax timid exercise of duty; but that a bold, presuming, ferocious, active ignorance, like his, was in itself a crime. Besides, added Mr. Burke, there is not a boy, who has learned the first elements of Christianity in his catechism, who, if these articles of charge were to be read to him, would not know that such conduct was not to be justified.

Lastly, Mr. Hastings had urged, that after the commission of many of the facts with which he was charged, parliament had re-appointed him to the same trust, and thereby virtually acquitted him. If, indeed, said Mr. Burke, they had re-appointed him after they had knowledge and proof of his misconduct, the public would have reason to reprobate their conduct, and there would be an indecorum in their prosecution. But they were guiltless of that charge; they were at the time almost universally ignorant of his crimes. Not that the plea would avail him, if it were as he alleged; since the greatest part of the enormities charged were committed since his last appointment. The thanks, which he had also pleaded, of the East India company, were, Mr. Burke said, still of less avail; since, though they had given him their thanks for his services in the gross, there was scarce one act, in that whole body of charges, for which they had not distinctly censured him. Mr. Burke here concluded his second day's speech, which lasted upwards of four hours.

On the 3d day (Feb. 17th), Mr. Burke began his speech by remarking, that though the nature of the cause which he had to open, might require that he should proceed to class the several crimes with which the defendant was charged, to shew their several bearings,

and how they mutually aided and grew out of each other; yet that a practical regard to time, to which it was necessary they should submit, would induce him to abridge that plan, and bring it within a narrower compass. The first thing, therefore, that he proposed to shew, was, that all the crimes charged upon Mr. Hastings, had their origin in, what was the root of all evil, avarice and rapacity. This base and corrupt motive pervaded so entirely the whole of his conduct, that there was not one article of the impeachment, in which tyranny, malice, cruelty, and oppression were charged, which did not at the same time carry evident marks of pecuniary corruption. He had not only governed arbitrarily, but corruptly; was a giver and receiver of bribes, not accidentally, but upon a regular system formed for the purpose of giving and receiving them. The principles upon which he acted, and upon which he had presumed to vindicate his conduct, (principles of arbitrary power) he knew and foresaw led to corrupt and abusive consequences; and these he appears to have thought himself bound to realize. The merits he had pleaded were not that he had corrected the abuses, or prevented the evils of an arbitrary government, but that he had squeezed more money out of the inhabitants of the country, than any other person could by any other means have done.

After some general observations upon the disgrace and infamy which such a system tended to bring upon the nation, he proceeded to state the sense that had been expressed, and the precautions that had been taken against it, both by the company and the legislature. He proved at large, that Mr. Hastings was bound, by every obligation that can bind mankind, by the duties of his official situation, by the most strong and express particular covenants, and by the positive injunctions of the legislature, not to take presents, either for himself or for the company, directly or indirectly: And that, as he was personally bound, so it was also his duty, to keep a watchful eye over all the other servants of the company, and, in general, over all persons that acted under
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their authority or sanction : That he became doubly responsible, when he took upon himself to remove persons from their situations, and place others of his own recommendation in their stead ; and still more highly, when those persons so substituted were of notorious evil character.

Mr. Burke then proceeded to exemplify these general heads of accusation. He first took notice of the general confiscation of the estates of all the ancient nobility and freeholders of Bengal, which took place in the year 1772, by which they were obliged to recognize themselves as mere farmers under government, and bid for their estates at a pretended public, but what in reality, he said, was a private corrupt auction, against all adventurers that came. The pretence for this dreadful act of tyranny was, the augmentation of the revenues of the company, which arose from a sort of quit-rent out of these estates, the real value of which, it was, therefore, thought proper, by this mode of auction, to ascertain. The first consequence was, that these farms fell, for the most part, into the hands of the banyans of the company's servants, and their delegates ; the banyan of Mr. Hastings himself, Cantoo Baboo, obtaining, contrary to an express regulation, farms which paid a revenue of 130,000*l.* a year to government. The second was, that at the end of five years, there was a defalcation of this exacted revenue, amounting to 2,050,000*l.*—This opened a new source of corruption, in the remission and compositions that were necessary to be made of that immense debt. The next scene of speculation, which followed close upon the former, was the sale of the whole Mahometan government of Bengal, the offices of justice, the successions of families, guardianships, and other sacred trusts, to a woman, called the Munny Begum.

Having gone through these several instances, which were in themselves strong presumptive proofs of corruption, he stated that Mr. Hastings had been positively charged, on the oaths of several natives, with having taken money corruptly, and contended that his conduct

under those charges amounted to the strongest presumptive evidence of his guilt. He entered into a minute account of the means used by Mr. Hastings to defeat the inquiry which the directors had ordered to be instituted into the misconduct of their servants; and this led him to the story of Nundcomar, and the effects which his fate produced, in putting a stop to all further discoveries of Mr. Hastings's peculations. The other charges Mr. Hastings suffered to remain on the records of the company, without ever denying them, or taking a single step to detect them. Soon afterwards very serious inquiries having begun, in the house of commons, into the peculations of the company's servants, he changed his mode of proceeding, and attempted to conceal his bribes, first, by depositing large sums of money in the public treasury under his own name, and then, upon the discovery of any particular bribe, alleging that he had received it for the company's use. Upon this conduct, Mr. Burke observed, first, that supposing the allegation true, the thing was absolutely illegal; that it tended to the utter disgrace of government, by establishing the corruption of the first magistrate as a principle of resource for the necessities of the company, and to the ruin of the country, by licensing governors to extort from the people, by bribery and speculation, whatever sums they pleased above the taxes and public imposts levied upon them. But, secondly, he observed, that through the folly and imprudence which usually attends guilt, he had given such false and contradictory accounts of those money transactions, as amounted to the strongest presumptive proof that they were in themselves fraudulent and corrupt. Having exposed several of these falsehoods and contradictions, he proceeded to the third great act of Mr. Hastings's corrupt government, the abolition of the provincial councils, and the measures taken in consequence thereof.

These councils, six in number, were invested with the ordinary administration of civil justice in the country, and with the whole of the collection of the revenues, accountable to the supreme council; and, during a period of nine years,

years, had approved their utility. But no sooner did Mr. Hastings obtain, by the death of general Clavering and colonel Monson, and the absence of Mr. Francis, the entire authority of the supreme council, which then consisted but of himself and Mr. Wheeler, than, without charge or complaint, he abolished, at one stroke, the whole of that establishment, and vested all their powers in a new council of four persons, chosen by himself, and rendered, as to any effectual purpose at least, independent of the supreme council.

The new council had given them by Mr. Hastings, for their dewan or secretary, a man, at the sound of whose name, said Mr. Burke, all India turns pale, Gunga Govind Sing; a man, of whom there was not a friend, there was not a foe of Mr. Hastings, that did not agree in pronouncing to be the most wicked, the boldest, and most dextrous villain that ever lived. The nature and importance of this office of secretary, Mr. Burke stated from the report of the council themselves, by which it appeared that the whole power (a power, as they state it, of the most alarming and terrible nature) would in effect center in him, and that they would be little more than mere tools in the hands of their dewan. In short, he shewed that the whole public administration of the country had been overturned, the company burdened with pensions for the persons dismissed, and with 62,000 l. per annum for the new appointed council, for the purpose of establishing Mr. Hastings's friend, Gunga Govind Sing, such as he was, and such as Mr. Hastings knew him to be, in the absolute and uncontrolled possession of the government of the country.

Mr. Burke then shewed, that in this situation Gunga Govind Sing maintained a close and secret correspondence with Mr. Hastings, and was in fact his bribe agent. This he proved from an official account of Mr. Larkin's, the company's treasurer at Calcutta; by which it appeared that a caboodle, or agreement, to pay four lacks of rupees, 40,000 l. had been received from Dinagepore, through the hands of Gunga Govind Sing, 30,000 l. of which
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had been paid; and it appeared that Mr. Hastings had expressed his resentment against Govind Sing for keeping back the remaining 10,000. As this was not an ordinary article of revenue, but acknowledged to be a present without any account of the person from whom, or the cause for which, it was given, the only way of coming to any conclusion on the subject, was to see what was the state of transactions at Dinagapore at that period; an inquiry which would develop the dreadful consequences of that system of bribery and corruption which had been established by Mr. Hastings.

The country of Dinagapore, with its dependent territories, Mr. Burke stated to be nearly equal to all the northern counties of England, Yorkshire included. A short time before the period at which the present appears to have been made, the succession to the government had been in litigation between the adopted son of the late rajah, an infant, and the rajah's half brother. The cause had been decided, by the governor-general in council, in favour of the adopted son. If the present was supposed to have been given in consideration of that judgment, whether it was right or wrong, it was corruptly taken by Mr. Hastings, as a judge in a litigation of inheritance between two parties. And what, on such a supposition, rendered the case more flagrant, was that the present came through the hands of Gunga Govind Sing, whose son was registrar-general of the province, and had in his custody the documents upon which the legal merits of the cause might depend. The persons in employment under the rajah at the same time were turned out of their offices, and the guardianship of the infant given to the brother of the wife of the late rajah. Soon after, without any proof that appears of mismanagement or neglect, the guardian was displaced by Gunga Govind Sing, and the rajah put into the hands of a perfect stranger, called Debi Sing. From the sequel of the history, Mr. Burke appeared to think it most probable, that the present was made by Debi Sing in consideration of this appointment. Not long after this, through the recommendation of the same Gunga Govind Sing, the

the revenues of all the rajah's provinces were given in farm to him.

Mr. Burke then proceeded to state, that this person, in the universal opinion of all Bengal, was second only to Govind Sing, and that Mr. Hastings was perfectly well acquainted with his character, and has since recorded, that he knew Debi Sing to be a man completely capable of the most atrocious iniquities that were ever charged upon one man. He then gave his history at large, of which the following were the principal traits:--- He was a banyan, and early in life had been in the service of Mahomet Reza Khan, through whose interest he obtained the collection of the province of Purneah. The revenues of this province, under his management, fell in one year from 160,000l. to 90,000l.; and it was finally left so completely ruined and desolated, that a company of Indian merchants, who had taken it at a reduced rent, when they came to view it, fled in a fright out of the country, and gave 10,000l. to be released from their bargain. This was the first opportunity he had of shewing how deserving he was of greater trusts. He was however discharged from his management by Mr. Hastings, with a stigma upon him for his misconduct. Thus stigmatized, he had still the influence to procure the office of Dewan to the council of Moorshedabad, the principal of the six provincial councils. Here he became the keeper of a legal brothel, and, by ministering to the pleasures and debaucheries of the young gentlemen who composed that council, and abusing their confidence in hours of dissipation, he obtained the superintendence of a great number of districts, all of which, as he had done before, he grievously oppressed and desolated, incurred large arrears of payments, and in one of those places, for his peculations he was publicly whipped by proxy. Having thus proved himself a kind protector of the people, a prudent farmer of revenue, and a sober guardian of the morals of youth, he was thought qualified to be appointed tutor to the young rajah, and to have the whole administration of his territories, and the collection of his revenues, committed into his hands.

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The consequences were such as might inevitably be expected. Mr. Burke here opened such a scene of horror, of outrageous violence upon the property, and of unheard cruelties and nefarious barbarity upon the persons of the wretched inhabitants of those provinces, without regard to sex or condition, as overcame the sensibility of several of his audience. The facts were taken from the report of Mr. Patterson, who, when the provinces, in consequence of these cruelties and oppressions, burst out into a sort of wild uproar and rebellion, which caused some alarm at Calcutta, was sent up to make an inquiry into the state of transactions there.—Mr. Burke was proceeding to state the conduct of the governor-general in consequence of this report, when he was taken ill, and obliged to put off the conclusion of his speech to the next day.

Feb. 19. He then began, by recapitulating the objects he had in view in the several matters that he submitted to the court the day before; viz. that Mr. Hastings, by destroying the provincial councils, which formed the whole subordinate administration of the British government in Bengal; by delegating their powers nominally to a committee of four persons chosen by himself, but in fact to a secret agent of his own, their dewan or secretary; by making this board, which had the whole management of the revenues, independent of, and unaccountable to, the supreme council, and by concurring in the appointment of persons of infamous characters to offices of the highest trust, had made himself responsible for all the mischiefs that flowed from those acts: that the acts themselves had, from the circumstances attending them, the strongest presumptive proofs that they were in the first intention corrupt, and that this presumption was strongly confirmed by the subsequent conduct of Mr. Hastings, particularly in the case of Mr. Patterson, which he proceeded to relate:

The report, with an immense body of evidence, being transmitted to the committee, instead of giving that credit to Mr. Patterson, which persons, acting in a public trust, and under the express orders of government, are entitled

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to, they received it with great coldness and visible disgust; instead of proceeding to act upon the report, by calling the delinquent to an account, Mr. Patterson was converted into a voluntary accuser of Debi Sing, and directed to make good the charges, which he had brought, by evidence upon oath; and, finally, he was himself accused by Debi Sing (whose boldness increased with the protection he obtained) of falsehood and forgery, and was put as a criminal upon his defence. Under such circumstances, Mr. Patterson was sent back to that country, in which he had before been received, as carrying the whole power of a beneficent government, to see whether, among a ruined, dejected, undone people, he could find constancy enough to stand to their former accusations against the known power of their former oppressor. In the mean time Debi Sing was sent in custody to Calcutta, not upon the charges contained in the report, but for other offences. Here he remained for some time a prisoner at large, and at last, a new commission being appointed to proceed to Rumpore, and inquire into the charges against Mr. Patterson, he was sent for by the commissioners, and actually sat with them, whilst Mr. Patterson was excluded from all their deliberations. Four years had thus passed, during which Mr. Patterson remained in a state of affliction and continual conflict. Debi Sing remained a prisoner at large, with every mark of protection and authority, and the people of Rumpore, which, said Mr. Burke, is a consideration of much greater importance than Debi Sing, or even than Mr. Patterson himself, remained totally unredressed, remain so to this day, and will remain so for ever, if your lordships do not redress them.

After some further observations upon the responsibility of Mr. Hastings, as arising from the abolition of the provincial councils, and the constitution of the new committee of revenue, by which he destroyed every check and control, and delivered the whole into the hands of his bribe agent, Gunga Govind Sing, he adverted to the defence set up by Mr. Hastings, that these presents were never received for his private emolument, but for the use of the company, and that it was the best method of supplying

supplying the necessities of the company in the pressing exigencies of their affairs. With respect to this system of presents, by which bribery was to be made a supplement to exaction, Mr. Burke first observed, that however promising it might appear in theory, it had not answered in practice; and that he should prove, that wherever a bribe had been received, the revenue had always in some proportion, and often in a double proportion, fallen into arrears; and, secondly, he called the attention of the court to all those dreadful consequences which attended this clandestine mode of supplying the company's necessities, as it was practised by Mr. Hastings.

Mr. Burke concluded this part of his speech with describing the last parting scene between Mr. Hastings and Gunga Govind Sing; a scene in which he appeared as an accomplice in the most cruel, perfidious, and iniquitous transaction, that, he said, was ever held forth to the indignation of mankind. When Mr. Hastings had quitted his office, and was now embarked upon the Ganges to sail for Europe, he writes a letter to the council, in which he says, "the concern I cannot but feel, in relinquishing the service of my honourable employers would be much embittered, were it accompanied by the reflection, that I have neglected the merits of a man who deserves no less of them than of myself, Gunga Govind Sing."

Upon this singular recommendation, Mr. Burke first observed, that with respect to the circumstances of the person whose merits Mr. Hastings was so fearful of leaving unrewarded, he was notoriously known to have amassed upwards of three millions sterling. With regard to his public services, Mr. Hastings states, that he had served the committee of revenue as dewan from its first institution to that time, with a very short intermission. Of this office, and of his services therein, Mr. Burke said he had already given some account: with respect to the intermission, Mr. Hastings had omitted a material circumstance, namely, that it was occasioned by his having been turned out of his office for a short time, upon proof of speculation and embezzlement of the public money.

money. Other public services, Mr. Hastings had not mentioned any, and the records of the company were equally silent. What his secret services were, was a subject which, however it might leave room for conjectures, was involved in the same silence and obscurity.

From services, Mr. Burke proceeded to consider the reward proposed; and this was, that a grant of certain domains, the property of the young rajah of Dinagepore, from which country Mr. Hastings had received the present of 40,000 l. should be confirmed to the son of Gunga Govind Sing, through whom that present had been conveyed. The circumstances of this case were briefly as follow: The son of Govind Sing had been appointed registrar of the provinces of Dinagepore, &c. by virtue of which office he had the guardianship of all the temporalities of the rajah, and the execution of the laws belonging thereto. In this situation he had obtained a fraudulent grant of a part of the rajah's zemindary to an immense amount, contrary to law, which makes the acts of all minors void, the rajah being at this time but nine years old, and contrary to the custom of the country, by which no zemindar can alienate any part of his territory without the consent of the government under which he holds. To cover this proceeding, the consent of one of the nearest relations of the rajah was procured. Such was the grant which Mr. Hastings, at his parting, recommended to the supreme council for confirmation. He was no sooner gone, than the other relations of the rajah took courage, and applied to the council to stop the grant. They proceeded to inquire. The person who had consented for the rajah was brought down to Calcutta, and declared, that he had been induced so to do by the threats of Gunga Govind Sing. Being thus pressed, Gunga Govind gave up the points of custom and law, and appealed to the arbitrary authority of the council. In an address presented to them, he states, that their power in all such cases was unlimited; that they might act in it as they pleased; that they had frequently separated zemindaries from their lawful proprietors, and given them

to others, *without right, title, or purchase*; he cites the example of a zemindary given in this way, by Mr. Hastings, to the son of Cantoo Baboo, his banyan, and prays that he may have the same favour shown to him that had been shown to others.

After some observations upon this address, in which he showed, by other instances, that this practice had gone to a very great length indeed, Mr. Burke gave a short account of another transaction of Mr. Hastings, exactly similar in its principles, operation, and consequences to that of Dinagepore—the settlement of the kingdom of Bahar. Here was the same selection of the most notorious wicked men, the same present taken, the like ruin of the country, and defalcation of the revenue. The pretence was also the same, viz. the increase of the public revenue: “But (said Mr. Burke) I hope your lordships will consider this monstrous increase of rent, given by men of desperate fortunes and characters, to be one of the grievances, instead of one of the advantages of this system. For when the limits, which nature, justice, and reason prescribe to all revenue, are transgressed, the consequence will be, that the worst man of the country will be chosen, as Mr. Hastings has actually chosen the worst, to effectuate this work; because it is impossible for any good men, by any honest means, to provide at once for the exigencies of a severe public exaction, and a private rapacious bribe given to the chief magistrate. He must have profit both upon the revenue to be paid, and the bribe to be given. Oppression, cruel exactions, rack and ruin on the tenants, must be the consequence of that system. Therefore, (says he), I charge Mr. Hastings with having destroyed the whole system of government, which he had no right to destroy, in the six provincial councils, for private purposes.—I charge him with having delegated away that power, which the act of parliament had directed him to preserve unalienably in himself.—I charge him with having formed a committee to be instruments and tools at the enormous expense of 62,000 l. per annum.—I charge him with having appointed a person *deewan*, to whom these Englishmen were to be subservient tools,

tools, whose name, by his own knowledge, by the general voice of India, by recorded official transactions, by every thing that can make a man known, abhorred, and detested, was stamped with infamy; with giving him this whole power, which he had thus separated from the council general, and from the provincial councils.—I charge him with taking bribes of Gunga Govind Sing.—I charge him that he has not done that bribe duty which even fidelity in iniquity requires at the hands of the worst of men.—I charge him with having robbed those people of whom he took the bribes.—I charge him with having alienated the fortunes of widows.—I charge him with having, without right, title, or purchase, taken the lands of orphans, and given them to wicked persons under him.—I charge him with having committed to Debi Sing, whose wickedness was known to himself and all the world, three great provinces, and thereby with having wasted the country, destroyed the landed interest, cruelly harassed the peasants, burnt their houses, destroyed their crops, tortured and dishonoured their persons, and destroyed the honour of the whole female race of that country.”

Mr. Burke then concluded with a short peroration, in which he described the nature of the cause, the crime, the criminal, the prosecutor, and the court, in all its constituent parts, in a strain of the grandest eloquence. He ended with words to this effect: “Therefore it is with confidence ordered by the commons, that I impeach Warren Hastings, esq. of high crimes and misdemeanours:

I impeach him in the name of the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, whose parliamentary trust he has betrayed.

I impeach him in the name of all the commons of Great Britain, whose national character he has dishonoured.

I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose laws, rights, and liberties he has subverted, whose properties he has destroyed, whose country he has laid waste and desolate.

I impeach him in the name of human nature itself, which he has cruelly outraged, injured, and oppressed in both sexes, in every age, rank, situation, and condition of life."

On Friday, December the 17th, being the seventh day of the trial, as soon as the peers had taken their seats in the hall, the lord chancellor informed the managers, that they were to produce the whole of their charges, with the evidence in support of each, before the prisoner should be called upon for his defence. The managers hereupon retired for a short time, and being returned, Mr. Fox addressed the court, and said, that the managers, though they greatly regretted the decision which had just been communicated to them, were still determined to proceed, having too much confidence in the justice of their cause to shrink from any difficulty. He was, however, directed by the committee to assert, what the inaccuracy of their lordships order might leave room for doubting, the undoubted right of the commons to bring up new articles of impeachment at any time, whilst the prisoner was making his defence, or even when that defence was concluded; and that such articles should be allowed to form a part of the prosecution. He hoped that it was not intended in any manner to object to this privilege; and, after pausing here a short time for a reply, he proceeded to make some general observations, first upon trials by impeachment, which he considered as a distinguishing feature of the British constitution, and upon the *law and usage of parliament*, which he warmly contended, in opposition to opinions held elsewhere, was one of the most important and valuable branches of the law of the land; and, secondly, upon the peculiar circumstances of the impeachment they were then proceeding upon—an impeachment, which, he said, did not originate, as had usually happened, from the violence of power, from sudden resentment, nor from party interests, but had been the result of several years deliberation; was brought forward by persons weak in point of influence and authority in the house, and had finally united the most adverse parties, who forgot all former animosities

sities in adverting to justice; who had nobly laid aside the contests for power, to attend to the cause of humanity, and had turned those arms which they had wielded so ably to mutual annoyance, against the common enemy of truth, justice, and honour.

After an exordium to this purpose, Mr. Fox, in a speech which lasted five hours, opened the Benares charge, down to the expulsion of the rajah Cheit Sing; and the next day of sitting Mr. Grey resumed the subject, and enforced the remaining part of the charge. Evidence on the part of the commons was then produced at the bar, under the directions of Mr. Anstruther; and the four following days were taken up in reading papers and examining witnesses. Several objections, made by the counsel for the defendant, to certain parts of the evidence, were over ruled by the court; but on the eleventh day, a Mr. Benn having answered a particular question in the negative, Mr. Anstruther asked him, Whether, when examined before the house of commons, he had not answered the same question in the affirmative? This question was objected to, and the lords immediately adjourned to their house, where a difference of opinion arising, their decision was not announced till the next day of sitting. The lord chancellor then informed the managers, that their lordships had determined, that it was not competent to the committee to put the question objected to. The managers immediately retired, and, upon their return, Mr. Fox addressed the court, and said, that he was directed to acquaint them, that the managers in acquiescing in the decision of the court (which they were induced to do, from a desire of preventing delay, and because the question was of no material consequence to the cause) had instructed him to express their direct and positive dissent from the principle upon which it was made. At the same time they could not help expressing also their surprise, that their lordships, who, in the outset had manifested a disposition to be governed and directed in their proceedings by the practice of the courts below, should in this particular instance think it necessary to depart from the known, constant, and uniform practice of

every court of law in the kingdom.—The evidence being at length gone through, Mr. Anstruther concluded on the part of the commons, by summing up, and observing upon the whole.

On the 15th of April, the fourteenth day of the trial, Mr. Adam opened the second charge, relative to the princesses of Oude; and on the fifteenth, Mr. Pelham resumed the same subject, in refutation of the defence delivered in by Mr. Hastings. The sixteen following days were taken up in reading and examining evidence; and on the thirty-second day of the trial (Tuesday, June the 3d) Mr. Sheridan began to sum up the evidence, and to apply it in proof of the charge. His speech which was delivered to an uncommonly crowded audience, was continued the two following days; and on Friday, the 15th of June, being the thirty-fifth day of sitting, the court adjourned to the first Tuesday after the next meeting of parliament.

The proceedings of the house of commons upon the impeachment of sir Elijah Impey, commenced early in the present session of parliament. On the 12th of December, sir Gilbert Elliot presented to the house six articles, containing charges of various high crimes and misdemeanours, upon which he had before signified his intention of moving for the impeachment of sir Elijah Impey. Upon this occasion, sir Gilbert Elliot addressed the house in a speech of considerable length, which in the style of persuasive eloquence was perhaps never exceeded in either house of parliament. He began by exculpating himself from the imputations which usually attach to the office of an accuser, that he was actuated by a natural malevolence of temper, by personal resentments or interests, by the spirit and passions of party. With respect to the last, he stated, that sir Elijah Impey had been declared a public culprit by the voice of parliament itself, before the parties, into which that house was at present divided, had an existence; and that the proceedings in which this accusation originated, had been carried on by persons of all descriptions, and were countenanced by every one of the
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administrations which had succeeded each other in the course of the last six years; that accordingly he had the satisfaction to receive from all quarters, from persons of all persuasions and connexions, the most direct approbation of the measure he was going to propose.

Having gone through these prefatory matters, and congratulated the house upon the proofs they had given, that the grievances of India were not only fit objects of their inquiries, but that their redress was the best object of their power, he adverted to certain principles, which, for obvious ends, had been industriously disseminated abroad, and had even been maintained in that house—that India *was indeed oppressed, but that it was accustomed to oppression; and that it must be oppressed or abandoned.* These scandalous positions sir Gilbert warmly controverted; and laid down, in opposition to them, what he thought nature and experience warranted him to affirm, *that India must be redressed or lost.* This topic led him to speak of the exertions that had been lately made in the house of commons, and particularly of the merits of Mr. Burke, in a style of the most elegant panegyric.

It is impossible, he said, to look back without exultation and joy on the variety, as well as the degree of ability, which this house has furnished to this great work, and which in some instances has so far outstripped all former examples of genius and of eloquence, so far surpassed the bounds, till that occasion, known or even imagined, of the human faculties and mind, that one could almost believe some favouring and approving power were furnishing means proportioned, adequate to, worthy of, the noble purpose. “The house will, I know, forgive me, for this tribute to the talents and the virtues of my country; but I can hardly think I should be forgiven, if, in the general admiration of so much excellence, I did not yet select from the rest, one singular individual, whom the few, qualified by nature for a general competition with his genius and his virtues, will yet, I know, be foremost to applaud me for placing,
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first, and alone, in this generous labour, the author, the founder, the animating spirit, the vital principle of this reform. I need not, sir, name him, whom we have seen for years devote the noblest talents, genius more than human, the profoundest wisdom, the most exhaustless labour; him, who we have seen for years, sacrifice the charms of private life, the lures of fortune, the aims of ambition; whom we have seen provoking, nay, courting the dangerous and implacable enmities of wealth and greatness; enduring patiently the scoff of a corrupt and vulgar public; nay, struggling with that which must have broken all other spirits, sustained by a weaker principle, or a meaner view, struggling with the dulness and the apathy even of the virtue of this age. Need I name him who has acted this great part under our eyes, in one uniform, one only, one simple, but grand pursuit, the happiness of mankind. Thanks then to him—thanks to this house, which has not disdained to listen to his voice; which has received from him, and has at length put into the hands of Britain, the clue both of its duty and of its interests.”

Sir Gilbert Elliot then laid down a second principle, viz. *that the only means left of reforming Indian abuse, was the punishment, in some great and signal instances, of Indian delinquency.* This proposition he endeavoured to establish with great ingenuity, by comparing the different force and efficacy of laws, as arising from their penal sanctions, when applied in our own internal administration, and in the government of distant possessions. At home, where government had in sight, and was in contact with the governed, their execution was easy and certain; but in our remote dominions, we had to labour with all the difficulties that absence, distance, ignorance could oppose. Against this evil no perfect remedy could be found, as experience had fully proved. Every resource of legislative regulation had been exhausted in vain: No device had been left untried, except the simple expedient of distributing reward to merit, and pains to guilt; the exemplary punishment of detected crimes

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was the only means left of convincing our distant subjects, that though distance might delay, it could not finally avert, the cognizance and penalties of justice.

Having established this general principle, that the punishment of Indian delinquency was a necessary part of any system for the redress of that country, sir Gilbert proceeded to the immediate objects of his charge. He began by stating the nature, the occasion, and the purposes of the commission under which sir Elijah Impey was sent out to India, as involving circumstances which were strong aggravations of his guilt, and added infinitely to the necessity of its punishment. He showed, that in the two grand objects which were committed to his charge, the protection of the company from the frauds of its servants, and of the natives from the oppression of Europeans, he had, by corruptly changing sides, added his new powers to the very force they were intended to control, and taken an active part in the oppressions which it was his duty to have avenged. Sir Gilbert here took occasion, in an animated address to the gentlemen of the law, to which body he had once belonged, to call upon them to reclaim the forfeited reputation of their profession, and to throw off from the nation and themselves the guilt of an individual, by bringing him to punishment for crimes which he had committed in their name.

After he had discussed these several topics, sir Gilbert acquainted the house, that he had prepared and reduced into writing the several distinct articles of accusation, which he should immediately present to the house, and move to have them read.

The first related to the trial and execution of the Maha Rajah Nundcomar.

The second, to the conduct of sir Elijah Impey in a cause, commonly known by the name of the *Patna Cause*.

The third is entitled, *Extension of Jurisdiction*, and comprehends various instances, in which the jurisdiction of the court was extended illegally and oppressively, both as to persons and subject matter, beyond the intention of the act and charter.

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The fourth charge is entitled, *The Cossijurah Cause*, and belongs also to the class of offence contained in the third charge, being another instance of illegal extension of jurisdiction; but it was distinguished by such circumstances of peculiar violence, and led to consequences so important, as to become properly the subject of a separate article.

The fifth charge is for his acceptance of the office of *judge of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut*, which was contrary to law, and not only repugnant to the spirit of the act and charter, but fundamentally subversive of all its material purposes.

The sixth and last charge relates to his conduct in the provinces of *Oude and Benares*, where the chief justice became the agent and tool of Mr. Hastings, in the oppression and plunder of the Begums.

“Such are the charges (said sir Gilbert Elliot) which I have thought it my duty to present at this time to the house. I will venture to say, that there never was an accusation which became better recommended to your inquiry and investigation; and it is matter of the most substantial comfort to my mind, that in accusing a fellow-citizen of crimes so atrocious, I do not trust to my own vain imagination and opinion, but am prompted in every line by the previous judgment of this house of parliament, and of every authoritative body by whom the transactions were cognizable.

“The conduct of the supreme court, and especially of sir Elijah Impey, had been the subject of complaint and accusation in India from the first months of its institution. He was accused, by a majority of the supreme council, of one of the most atrocious offences that was ever laid to the account of man; and this made the subject of the *first charge*. Parliament judged it proper, on the report made by the select committee, of the *Patna cause*, to express its sense of the injustice and oppression of that judgment, by delivering the defendants from its consequences, and ordering an indemnification for the losses and injuries they had sustained under it. Parliament has not only granted the indemnity desired by the
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members of council, for resisting the acts of the supreme court, but has expressly abridged that court of the extravagant and oppressive, as well as mischievous, jurisdiction claimed in the instances comprised in my *third charge*; and these were similar, though somewhat inferior to the pretensions which produced the singular occurrences in the *Cossijurah cause*, detailed in the *fourth charge*. The house recalled sir Elijah Impey from his office of chief justice, expressly for having accepted that of judge of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut, which is the subject of the *fifth charge*. And Mr. Hastings was at that moment under the prosecution of this house, by impeachment before the lords, for the very crime in which the *sixth charge* accuses sir Elijah Impey as accessory."

Sir Gilbert Elliot concluded his speech with an animated recapitulation of the nature of the crimes which he brought in charge, of the duties of the body before whom he brought them, and of the peculiar circumstances of the persons suffering, and of the person by whom they were oppressed.

The charges being received and laid upon the table, they were, upon a motion, read by the clerk, in short, *pro forma*, after which, sir Gilbert moved that they should be referred to a committee. This was objected to by Mr. Pitt, who suggested that the charges ought, in the first place, to be printed, and then referred to a committee of the whole house. This mode of proceeding was afterwards adopted, and the 4th of February was fixed for the committee. On that day a petition was presented from sir Elijah Impey, praying to be heard in answer to the charges which had been exhibited against him. He was accordingly called to the bar; and after he had been heard for a considerable time, in answer to the first article, the committee was adjourned to the Thursday following.

As soon as sir Elijah had withdrawn, a question arose relative to his delivering in a copy of his defence to be laid upon the table. Being again called in, he was asked if he had written minutes of what he had said, and whether

ther he was desirous of delivering them to the house? His answer, which was in the negative, drew some observations from Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox; who remarked upon the want of fairness and candour in such a refusal, and upon the obvious inconvenience to which it would subject the house. The next day upon which the committee sat, before sir Elijah Impey was called in, Mr. Francis rose to take notice of a serious charge, which sir Elijah had brought against him on the former day. He had declared, that he was in possession of a paper, purporting to be the petition of Nundcomar against the judges of the supreme court, which was presented to the council before his execution, and which Mr. Francis had concurred, with the rest of the council, in declaring a false libel, and in ordering it to be burnt, the entries of it to be expunged, and the translations destroyed. Mr. Francis, in order to defend himself against this charge, moved, that sir Elijah Impey should be required to deliver the paper to the house. This motion was strongly objected to by the chancellor of the exchequer, the solicitor-general, the master of the rolls, and other gentlemen of the robe; and supported by Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke. At length it was thus amended, "that the speaker should ask sir Elijah Impey, if he had any objections to produce the paper in question?" Sir Elijah being called in, answered, that he had no objection. Being then ordered to proceed in his defence, he begged leave to claim the protection of the house against a variety of libellous public prints, which were daily circulated to injure him. He was directed to produce those libels the day following; when, upon the motion of Mr. Grenville, they were declared to be "scandalous and seditious libels upon the house, and tending to prejudice the minds of the public against an accused individual;" and an address was presented to the king, to direct the attorney-general to prosecute the publishers thereof. After a short debate, in which several members opposed the mode of prosecution, as tending to bring the privileges of the house before the courts below, and recommended it to the house to take the

the punishment into their own hands, the motion passed by a great majority.

Sir Elijah Impey then proceeded in his defence, and, having gone through the first article, he begged leave to submit to the house, that his mind had been so strongly affected, and even his health so much impaired, by the anxiety and horror he had felt at being charged with having committed a deliberate legal murder, that he feared he should be unequal to the exertion of entering into his defence against the other articles before he was acquitted of the first. That the rest he considered as so light in comparison of this, that he had scarce any objection to their going, without further discussion, to the lords, if this were decided against him. To this request sir Gilbert Elliot expressed his consent.—On the 11th of February, and the two following days on which the committee sat, Mr. Farrer, a member of the house, and who acted as counsel to Nundcomar upon his trial at Calcutta, was examined in his place. Much debate arose in the course of his evidence, (which was not given in the way of question and answer, but in a continued narrative), upon points of order; in which the gentlemen of the robe strenuously contended for the technical precision of legal forms, and were generally opposed with success by Mr. Fox, upon the ground of their being inapplicable to the kind of proceeding in which they were then engaged. On the 20th, Mr. Rous, another member, was also examined in his place.

On the 27th of February Mr. Francis made his defence to the committee against the charge before mentioned, which sir Elijah Impey had brought against him. After acknowledging the fact, and explaining the motives upon which he had at that time acted, he reminded the committee that this transaction had passed in the secret department of government; that the information possessed by sir Elijah was therefore a positive proof of collusion between him and Mr. Hastings, who had evidently betrayed his colleagues and his trust to the chief justice.

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On the 28th of April, all the evidence being gone through, sir Gilbert Elliot began his reply to the answer of sir Elijah Impey. After a speech of considerable length the committee was adjourned to the 7th of May, when sir Gilbert resumed his reply, and finished it on the 9th, which was the next day of sitting.

The defence of sir Elijah was undertaken by sir Richard Sutton, who was supported by Mr. D. Pulteney, the solicitor and attorney-general, and the chancellor of the exchequer. The motion was supported by Mr. Fox, colonel Fullerton, and Mr. Burke; and upon a division, there appeared, ayes 55, noes 73.

On the 27th of May, the day appointed for the committee to sit again, upon the usual motion That the speaker do now leave the chair, the same was opposed by the attorney-general, on the ground that the next article, of the Patna cause, was at that time depending, and likely to come speedily to a hearing before the privy council. After a short conversation, the motion was negatived, and the further consideration of the charges put off for three months.

On July 11th 1782, the king put an end to the session by a speech from the throne, in which he complimented the two houses on their attention and liberality. "His faithful subjects had every reason, (as he affirmed,) to expect the continuance of the blessings of peace; and the engagements which he had lately formed with the king of Prussia and the states-general of the United Provinces, would, he trusted, promote the security and welfare of his own dominions, and contribute to the general tranquillity of Europe."

On the 31st of January, in this year, prince Charles Edward Lewis Casimir Stuart died at Rome. Since the death of his father in the year 1765, he had assumed the title of king of England. He was commonly known on the continent by the name of the chevalier de St. George, and in England by that of the young pretender. He was sixty-seven years and two months old on the day of his death, being born on the 30th of November 1720.

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He was son to James Francis, prince of Wales, son to James II. His mother was the princess Maria Clementina Sobieski, grand-daughter of the famous John Sobieski, king of Poland; she had an immense fortune, a great part of which was lost in the fruitless attempt made by her son, in 1745, to place his father on the throne of England. He left a natural daughter, whom, by his pretended royal power, he created duchess of Albany; she was about twenty-five years of age when he died. To his brother, cardinal York, he left his empty pretensions to the crown of England.

On the 3d of February, the funeral obsequies of the duke of Albany were celebrated in the cathedral church at Frescati, of which see the cardinal duke of York was bishop.

About this time a war broke out between Russia and Turkey, and the emperor of Germany, having made great preparations to assist Catharine his ally, was soon included in the contest. The divan, well aware of the empress's character of insatiable ambition, and the restless activity of the emperor of Germany was apprehensive, upon receiving intelligence of the interview between those powerful sovereigns at Cherson, in 1787, that a design was in agitation for wresting from the Sultan his rights or dominions; and was confirmed in these apprehensions by the demands soon after made by the Russian minister. The Sultan determined, therefore, once more to assume the dignity of a Turkish emperor, and prepare instantly for war; with this view, he concluded peace with Egypt, and recalled Hassan Bey to take the command in Europe. The demands made by the Russian minister, which were nobly rejected by the Sultan, required his renunciation of the sovereignty of Georgia, a new settlement to be made to the empress of Moldavia and Wallachia, and the acknowledgment of her right to Bessarabia. The intelligence of this rejection was more distressing to the empress, on account of the deranged state of her finances, occasioned by the war with the Tartars, her magnificence and vast expenses. M. Bulgakow,

kow, the Russian minister at Constantinople, was summoned to a grand divan, and was presented with a written instrument, containing a set of counter propositions to those of his mistress, which he was required to sign immediately, as the only alternative of instant war. His spirited refusal occasioned his commitment to the castle of the seven towers as a prisoner, and a declaration of war against Russia. Towards the close of the year 1787, the Turks made several unsuccessful attempts upon the new frontiers which the Russians had formed by usurpations. The Turkish vice-admiral, the second Hassan Bey, a brave and able seaman, was appointed to take the command of the fleet in the Black sea; great expectations were formed of the happy consequences of his tried zeal and activity. The recovery of Kinburne being of the greatest importance to the Porte, on account of its vicinity to Oczakow, it was pointed out to the vice-admiral as the chief end of his expedition; but for want of a due subordination among the commanders, such dissensions broke out in the fleet, as served totally to overthrow all his designs. Hassan Bey, after remaining a few days at Oczakow, returned without making any attempt upon Kinburne, and without making sufficient exertions to fall in with the Russian fleet on his return. Nothing but the instant death of the vice-admiral could allay the clamour of the people, and the indignation of the Porte, which was caused by his bringing this news of his own misfortune and disgrace to Constantinople. In the mean time a fruitless attempt was made by the brave garrison of Oczakow to recover Kinburne, deserted as they were by the fleet, in which they lost a great number of men. The charming and fruitful plains of the Crimea were greatly depopulated by the late revolution which the Russian soldiers and internal commotion had effected there, and upon the falling of that beautiful peninsula into the power of the empress. The Tartars, who were possessed of property, sold their lands at an extreme low price to foreign adventurers, particularly English, who were making every exertion to improve them, at the breaking out of this new war between the Russians and the

the Turks, which like an eastern blight destroyed their crops.

The grand signior, in order to carry on the war with more efficacy, granted dictatorial powers to his minister and general; and also made applications to the French and Spanish courts for their aid and assistance. France was too much agitated by her own internal disorders, and the deranged state of her finances, to think of involving herself in such distant disputes as those between Russia and the Porte; and therefore returned for answer that she could not take any other part than that of a mediator. The conduct of Spain upon this occasion was extremely wavering and equivocal. The emperor of Germany soon afterwards declared his resolution to support his ally, Russia, with eighty thousand men, being the force he was bound to furnish her by treaty, making at the same time an hypocritical offer of becoming a mediator to save the effusion of human blood. The real intention of the emperor, however, soon appeared clearly, by making an ineffectual attempt to surprize Belgrade and Gradisca. War was soon afterwards declared at Vienna, and the most vigorous preparations made to carry it on. The court of Warsaw for a time refused a passage to the imperial troops in the pursuit of their military operations. The emperor joined the grand army on the Danube about the middle of April 1788, where he found the small fortress of Schabatz invested; but the attack deferred to signalize his arrival. This fortress soon fell into his hands; but this small success was effaced by the severe check which prince Lichlenstein's army encountered at Dubicza. During this campaign the Turks displayed the most desperate valour; and the system adopted by the grand vizir, in the conduct of the war, announced his wisdom and deep penetration: He wearied out his enemies by continual attacks, small actions, and the most unremitted duty. The tardiness of the Russians, in forming a junction with the Austrians, which had been long promised, caused great discontents both in Vienna and the imperial camps. After the prince of Cobourg had received several furious attacks

from the Ottoman forces, the emperor prepared for a formal siege of Belgrade ; for that purpose he collected a prodigious train of artillery, and threw three bridges over the river Saave. The grand vizir, upon gaining intelligence of the design of the emperor, made hasty marches with the Turkish army from Silistria, to interrupt his design ; and soon encamped in a most advantageous position on the Danube. The emperor, in the mean while, to obstruct the progress of the Turkish commander, broke down his bridges, entrenched his own troops, and added new works to his camp near Semlin : But a dreadful sickness and mortality, attended by a prodigious desertion in the imperial armies, were great impediments to his exertions. In order to supply these losses, the emperor ordered three regiments from Vienna, and thirty thousand recruits from various parts. The waste of men and treasure during the campaign was prodigious ; recruits were sought for in all quarters. The king of Sardinia upon this occasion showed no disposition to favour the ambitious designs of the two imperial courts ; he regarded their projects with too much jealousy, to apprehend that a crusade against infidels was the actuating principle of the day ; he therefore absolutely prohibited the Austrian recruiting parties from entering his dominions : When at length a conjunction was formed of the forces, under the command of the prince of Saxe Cobourg, and the Russians, under general Soltikow, they jointly commenced the siege of Choczyn. Notwithstanding the town was soon nearly destroyed by a tremendous fire of artillery and bombs, the ferasquier and his intrepid garrison, bravely defended the place until the end of September. The grand vizir, in the mean time, laid bridges over the Danube at Cladova, and invaded the Bannat of Temeswar, and soon afterwards defeated the Austrians near Orsova, and the emperor's army was obliged to retreat from Karansebes ; but heavy rains, and the approach of winter, at length obliged the vizir to evacuate the Bannat. At the conclusion of the campaign, the emperor returned to Vienna, and

and an armistice was concluded between the Austrians and the Turkish commanders on the Danube.

In the ensuing year the famous Paul Jones was despatched to the Black Sea, as second in command to the prince of Nassau. In the mean time, vast armies were preparing for the field, and, in defiance of the greatest difficulties in June 1788, a vast Russian army, estimated at a hundred and fifty thousand men, appeared on the banks of the river Bog, adjoining to the confines of Poland, Turkey, and Tartary, and on the way to the Black sea, under the orders of prince Potemkin, and general Romanzow. The Russians soon fell in with a large party of Turks near the conjunction of the rivers Nieper and Bog, when a bloody engagement ensued, and ended to the advantage of the Russians.

In the next month, prince Potemkin invested Ocza-kow, which was garrisoned by about twenty thousand choice troops. After he had continued the siege for six months, without making any impression upon the place, as the last effort, he ordered a general dreadful bombardment with red hot balls; one of these fell upon the grand powder magazine, which blew up with so terrible an explosion, as to demolish too great a portion of the wall to admit of the fortress being any longer tenable. The Turks, notwithstanding, defended both the breach and the streets with the most desperate valour; and the brave aga, who commanded them, disdaining to survive his men, rejected all offers of quarter, and was of necessity cut to pieces. It has been estimated, that seven thousand Turks were killed in this action, including those whom the Russians murdered in their houses; the loss of the latter was estimated at four thousand killed or wounded. During the progress of these hostilities with the Porte, Russia suddenly found herself involved in a war with Sweden. The sudden and unforeseen revolution, which had taken place in Sweden a few years before, was the source of all the jealousy and dislike which took place between the courts of Petersburg and Stockholm.

Hostilities commenced between the Swedes and the
Russians

Russians in Finland about the middle of June. This commencement of hostility brought forth in a few days afterwards a declaration of war from the court of Petersburgh.

Soon afterwards a naval engagement took place in the Baltic near the isle of Hoogland, between the Russian fleet under the command of admiral Greig, a Scotchman, and the Swedish fleet under the duke of Sudermania. Both fleets fought with great fury and courage for several hours, after which victory was claimed by both sides; but admiral Greig from the accession of fresh ships and stores, was soon enabled to put to sea again. He came suddenly upon the Swedes in the road of Sweaburg, in Finland, defeated them, and shut them up for the season.

Denmark also took part with Russia in the war against Sweden. It appears, if we credit the state of the matter given by the Danes, that the very year in which the king of Sweden accomplished the revolution in the government of his own country, he directed his views to the production of one of a different nature in Denmark, which, without meddling with its government, would, by a fatal separation of its parts, have reduced the power and consequence of that country in the system of Europe to nothing, and rendered its future existence, in any degree, as an independent state, extremely precarious. This was by an attempt to separate the ancient and extensive kingdom of Norway from that crown, to which it had for several centuries been so closely united, and which would have rendered the name of a kingdom scarcely appropriate to its remaining weak and disjointed dominion.

It has unfortunately, and by a strange perversion of reason and policy, been nearly the constant system pursued by the court of Copenhagen, through a course of ages, to rule Norway with a harsh and unfeeling hand, and to afford too much room for complaint to that people, on whom its strength and power so much depended; insomuch that they seem to have been generally treated and considered rather as aliens, than as subjects, and
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equal members of the same general dominion and government. How far these causes of disaffection continued to operate in the present instance, we cannot pretend to determine, but it is clear from the event that great discontent still prevailed in that kingdom; for the new Swedish sovereign is not only charged with fomenting them, with a view to exciting a general insurrection, but with marching an army, in the year 1772, to the frontiers of Norway, under the intention of absolute invasion, in support of the insurgents. The discovery of the plot, the taking of the cyphers under which the correspondence was conducted, along with the immediate measures which were pursued for placing that country in a proper state of defence and resistance, are alleged to be the causes which disconcerted this project, and prevented, at least, a hostile attempt, for carrying the design into execution.

If this charge be well founded, as it seems to be, it could not be expected that the court of Copenhagen would afterwards place much confidence in the faith or friendship of a prince, who had afforded so early and so glaring a testimony of his being little bound by either; nor is it to be wondered at, that, so circumstanced, she should be less apprehensive of the distant power of Russia, formidable as it is, than of the restless spirit and watchful enterprize of a less potent power, whose vicinity enabled him to be at all times troublesome, and might, in certain situations, have afforded him opportunities of being highly dangerous. Russia was likewise the natural check upon his ambition, and, almost, the only one that could be effective in cases of sudden emergency. To these causes and motives for Denmark's throwing herself into the arms of Russia in preference to Sweden, is to be added, and particularly remembered, the signal obligation by which she had been recently bound to the empress, for the singular cession which she made for her son (the great duke's) patrimonial rights and inheritance in the dutchies of Sleswick and Holstein; which may well be considered as a free-gift, the miserable county of Oldenburgh, though the original natal seat of the Danish sovereigns, not warranting the name of an exchange.

Few

Few acquisitions, if any, could be of equal importance to Denmark with this cession; for, besides the very considerable accession of power and revenue which it afforded, with the benefit of thereby rounding and completing her German dominions, it was of still much greater advantage, in precluding those frequent litigations and wars, in which the strangely mixed sovereignty in these dutchies had so long involved the possessors; and which would in future have become every day more arduous and dangerous, as the sovereigns of Russia would have been the opposite parties in the contention.

A strict alliance between Russia and Denmark took place upon this occasion; and it is stated, that by some articles of the treaty then concluded, which do not appear to have been published, the latter was bound, in certain cases therein specified, to supply Russia with 12,000 auxiliary troops, together with a naval aid of six ships of the line. Undoubtedly the court of Peterburgh was equally bound, in opposite circumstances, to afford an aid to Denmark, commensurate to her power. These transactions took place in 1773, the year immediately succeeding the alarm, occasioned by the alleged attempt or design upon Norway. These specific conditions, whether suppressed parts of the treaty then communicated to the public, or included in a separate one, were evidently kept secret, as the king of Sweden declares, in a public document, that he never heard of them, until the public notice given by Denmark of their intended fulfilment; while he seems, upon the whole, rather to doubt their existence.

Whatever political errors the Swedish sovereign might have committed in his early conduct with respect to Denmark, it seems probable that he afterwards sincerely repented the hasty and unguarded loose which he then gave to his imagination or passions; and he has since endeavoured, by a course of the most friendly attentions, to conciliate matters, and to wear off all remembrance of them. It seems more than probable that his political system was not then formed, and that it was not absolutely

lutely decided until his return from the visit to Peterburgh.

Upon the Ottoman war, the approach of the present state of affairs in the north, and his own determination to renew or confirm the ancient alliance with the Turks, he particularly laid himself out, with the utmost assiduity, not only to gain the friendship of Denmark, but to secure her effectually, by making her a convert to his own opinions and principles. The sudden and unexpected visit, which, towards the close of the year 1787, he paid at the court of Copenhagen, and which was so devoid of all etiquette and ceremonial, as to resemble the free intercourse between common neighbours, was a matter which excited, at least, the observation and curiosity of all the courts of Europe, and occasioned much general political surmise and speculation. The king of Sweden's object in this visit was to impress deeply on the court of Copenhagen the same apprehensions which he entertained himself, of the danger arising from the overgrown power, the insatiate ambition, the insidious intrigues, and the over-reaching conduct of Russia; that the danger was common to both the northern kingdoms; that nothing less than the closest union and friendship, which their interests required to be indissoluble, along with the most speedy and vigorous mutual exertions, could possibly avert, or even ward it off for any considerable time. He stated, that if Russia succeeded in her present ambitious design, of overthrowing and partitioning the Ottoman empire, her power would then become so vast, that all efforts on their side to control or restrain it, would not only be futile, but acts of absolute lunacy; for they could afterwards only hope to subsist as miserable dependents on her clemency.

It appears that France had originally furnished money for the equipment of the Swedish fleet, and, when this resource failed, that the military preparations by sea and land were still enlivened by larger remittances from Constantinople. During this process for war, the court of Copenhagen made frequent amicable remonstrances to the king, endeavouring, upon the grounds we have seen,

to dissuade him from his design ; but, if every thing else failed, to prevent, if possible, his striking the first blow. These official applications were supported by a letter from the prince royal, in which, as well as arguments, the most earnest and affectionate intreaties were used to engage the king to relinquish his design.

Prince Charles of Hesse, the viceroy of Norway, and brother-in-law to both kings, having arrived at his government in the beginning of May, was some time after joined by the prince royal, who had gone thither to review the troops. The king of Sweden, who was then upon the point of his departure to Finland, immediately despatched general Duwal, with the usual compliments to the prince royal upon his arrival, together with an urgent letter upon the subject which had already been so much discussed : Duwal was accompanied by the king's aid-de-camp, M. Borgenstierna, who was charged with a similar commission and letter to the prince of Hesse. The following extract from the letter to prince Charles of Hesse, will afford some general idea of the tendency and object of both :—" I adjure you, sir, not to lose a moment in uniting Sweden and Denmark for ever. No man is more equal to the task than you, nor sees better the necessity of it ; and the more so, as this instant will decide either our entire union, or a lasting enmity. In this critical moment it is indispensably necessary to choose one of us for an ally. I should despair, if forced to wage war with the prince royal, whom I love, and with a nation, which, during my stay among them, has given me so many marks of its attachment. But I am not afraid of being taken unawares. My army is so constituted, that I can, within a month's time, replace in Sweden all the troops I have led to Finland, and then it will be stronger than any you can oppose." &c. &c.

The prince stated, in his answer, that, not being in the king of Denmark's cabinet council, nor at all entrusted with the secrets of state, he was not only totally incompetent to the giving, but to the forming, of any opinion upon public affairs. He likewise answered for the prince royal, that, with all the sentiments of the
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highest respect and attachment, which he entertained for his majesty, he could not permit himself to decide on an affair of such importance, especially during his absence; and that he must refer the whole to the council of state of the king his father. The prince of Hesse, however, assumed the privilege of a friend and relation, in endeavouring to persuade the king to relinquish his present design, stating, in strong colours, and in the most pathetic language, the dreadful and fatal consequences which he apprehended from his perseverance.

While the king was deeply involved in all the trouble and danger, occasioned by the refractoriness, or rather the revolt, of his army in Finland, the court of Copenhagen issued a public notice to the foreign ministers, and among the rest to the Swedish, who was most immediately concerned, of the conditions by which she was bound to Russia, to supply her with a considerable auxiliary force by sea and land, and of her own determination to fulfil those conditions. The plan of operation laid by the allies was, that the prince Charles of Hesse should, on the 24th of September, invade Sweden on the side of Norway, with the stipulated number of auxiliary forces; and, as Denmark was very anxious, through her apprehension of other powers, to avoid being considered as the aggressor in a direct war against Sweden, and as the hostile invasion of a country carried more the appearance of a principal than of an auxiliary, and was in reality rather a novel mode of proceeding, so, to prevent the effect, the prince of Hesse was appointed a field-marshal in the Russian service, whereby he seemed to act under the immediate orders of the empress, and to be discharged from the control of his own court.

This unexpected denunciation affected the king like a thunder-stroke, and indeed rendered his situation truly critical, and his affairs apparently desperate. Nothing could exceed the resentment which, upon this occasion, he conceived against his new adversaries; and he is said to have declared, that he considered the Danes as more insidious enemies, and as more implacable in their animosity to Sweden, than even the Russians. But, pre-

vicious to his receiving the Danish notification, the unexpected and unfortunate turn which affairs had taken in Finland, induced the king to despatch an express to Copenhagen, earnestly soliciting that court to become a mediator between him and Russia, and leaving, in a great measure, to itself the terms upon which peace might be concluded. It is said, and seems probable, that this express had not arrived at Copenhagen until the Danish public notification of its intentions had been already issued; but, as this fact did not immediately appear, it is no wonder that the supposed conduct of that court in the affair should serve highly to incense the king.

Nothing could be more calamitous, or apparently hopeless, than the aspect of the king's affairs upon his return from Finland. Fortune had not only deserted, but seemed totally adverse to him in every thing, and ruin appeared opening on every side. The contagion from the army had spread through various parts of the kingdom, and infected even the capital; while the nobility seemed fast approaching to the recovery of that power and consequence in the kingdom which they formerly possessed. The senate, once the source of all power and government, and long so formidable to sovereigns, whom it ruled with a harsh and ungracious hand, instead of being ruled by them, although it had been found necessary to preserve its name and form under the new constitution of 1772, yet was so totally changed in its nature, as to be rendered a mere cypher in the state, and placed almost entirely under the king's direction. But by a strange oversight, which can only be attributed to the hurry of the occasion, the royal presence was necessary to render its control operative, and no provision was made for a substitute to act as a check upon the proceedings of that body, in cases of the king's absence.

It would be little consistent with the nature of man, if the senate, feeling itself free from constraint, was not eagerly disposed to resume and to display its ancient authority. All the circumstances of the time, the precarious and deplorable state of the king's affairs, who seemed more than tottering upon his throne, along with
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the prevalent disposition, which was more particularly spread amongst the nobility, concurred in inspiring that body with confidence. They accordingly took measures, without consulting the king, to assemble, in diet, the states of the kingdom, under colour of the deranged and dangerous state of public affairs, and of the discontents and disorders which prevailed in the nation.

The sudden arrival of the king at Stockholm totally overthrew this design, and disturbed the senate reluctantly from that short dream of power which they had so pleasingly enjoyed. The measure of calling a diet was, for the present, totally quashed; and the king, well knowing that the nobility (who were numerous and powerful in the capital, which was the great seat of their cabals) were generally inimical to his interests, he threw himself entirely into the hands of the burghers and people at large, over whom he had ever possessed a great ascendancy. As an indication of his entire reliance on their fidelity and affection, as well as a flattering testimonial to the confidence which he placed in their courage as well as loyalty, he immediately, without waiting for any fresh confirmation of his sentiments, or showing any apprehension of the change which the untoward state of his affairs, and the intrigues of his enemies, might have wrought on theirs during his absence, dispatched the few regular troops that were in Stockholm and its environs to the southern frontiers, to make head against the invasion of the Danes.

Having then summoned an assembly of the citizens, that eloquence which failed at the court of Copenhagen, here produced the happiest effects. He declared, that, reposing the most unlimited confidence in their affection, loyalty, and courage, he, in this season of danger, whilst he was himself called away to oppose his new enemy in a distant part of the kingdom, should entrust to their care all those things the most immediately dear to him, the defence and preservation of the capital, and the protection of the queen and royal family; considering these sacred deposits as far better secured in the cus-

tody of their fidelity and affection, than under the protection of any military force whatever.

Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm with which this speech inspired the assembly, nor the eagerness with which the citizens armed and embodied themselves; manning the various batteries and works, and cheerfully executing all the service and duty hitherto performed by the garrison. This enthusiasm spread with the greatest rapidity through the lowest orders of the people, who, little restrained by discretion or prudence in the manifestation of their zeal, and conceiving the greatest enmity against the officers lately returned from the army in Finland, whom they indiscriminately considered as recreants and traitors, it became unsafe for military men to appear in public with any of the emblems of their profession.

On September 11th the king returned an answer to the notification he had received from the court of Copenhagen. In this piece, after expressing his concern and astonishment at the unexpected part taken by the king his brother-in-law, and touching, as it were incidentally, but feelingly, the sacred nature of the ties by which they were personally united, he recurs to the long period of peace and friendship, which, without the smallest interruption, had for more than sixty years happily subsisted between their respective nations—a duration of tranquillity without example in their annals; declaring his own constant endeavours, not only to preserve the harmony between them undisturbed, but to cement it more closely, and render it perpetual.

Happy it was for Sweden, or at least for the king, that at this moment of such imminent danger, there were other powers who were not indifferent to the consequences of that country being overwhelmed by Russia and Denmark, whereby every idea of any future balance of power in the north would be totally destroyed. It was the more fortunate at this season, as the affairs of France were getting into such a train, as rendered the expectation of her being able, in any degree, to support her ancient ally, every day more precarious. The new treaty
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of alliance concluded between Great Britain and Prussia, and the strict union already cemented between them and Holland, formed so powerful a counterpoise to the dangerous alliance between the two empires of Germany, and Russia, as seemed capable of being an insuperable bar to the progress of their ambitious designs. To render this balance the more completely effective, it was necessary, in the first instance, to prevent Sweden from being too much weakened, and, above all things, any revolution from taking place in its government; and, secondly, to preserve the Ottoman empire from subversion and absolute ruin. We here see how, through a sudden turn of public affairs, these powers found it necessary to put themselves in the place of France, to supply her imbecillity by supporting her alliances, and to take up that system of policy which she had so long pursued. Such were the motives which induced England and Prussia to become arbiters of the peace and protectors of the liberties of the north, so far as the preservation of some equilibrium in the state of power there, might tend to produce that effect. Such likewise are the motives that must ever operate upon all states in taking such a part; for the Utopian ideas that nations will encounter the evils and dangers of war, upon the disinterested principle of preserving or restoring the liberties of others, must be considered, by all sober politicians, as well as philosophers, as, "the dreams of men awake."

The king of Sweden was indefatigable in his endeavours to provide for the defence of the kingdom; but the defection of his army, and the divisions among the people, rendered his means scanty indeed. In this paucity of resource, having first despatched orders to Pomerania to draw over to Calmar all the troops that could possibly be spared from that province (which were not many in number, and must be late in action) he determined to apply to the zeal and loyalty of the Dalecarlians for succour in his extremity. These people were highly celebrated for the brave, generous, and effective share which they took in that memorable revolution, by which Gustavus Vasa freed his country from the unequalled cruelty

of the Danish despotism, which had already not only massacred the citizens of Stockholm, but nearly exterminated the whole race of the ancient nobility. The Dalecarlians are a fierce, rough, ignorant, and honest people. Buried in the bowels of their rocks and mountains, and secluded, in a great measure, by nature, from any commerce with the rest of mankind, they scarcely know any thing of what passes in the world; but, holding the greatest veneration for royalty, they have ever been distinguished for the most inviolable loyalty and attachment to their sovereigns; while their native courage, operating upon this disposition, seems to convert it into a principle of heroic chivalry, from the readiness with which they abandon their mines and forests upon any occasion which requires their assistance.

Gustavus having settled affairs in his capital, more to his satisfaction than the shortness of the time could well seem to admit, set out (Sept. 12th.) with his usual celerity for the province of Dalecarlia. Here he followed the example, and perhaps traced the footsteps of his great predecessor and namesake; descending to the bottom of their deepest mines and caverns to visit the people. The second appearance of a king in these subterraneous regions, and he coming likewise to solicit their aid, recalling all the ideas of their traditionary glory, was in the highest degree flattering to their minds; and the enthusiasm was so great, that the royal eloquence, which, however, was not spared, seemed totally unnecessary. Every man was eager to become one of the king's guards, hoping he should afford an eminent instance of his loyalty and affection, by dying in defence of his sovereign. An explanation was therefore necessary, in which the king assured them, that he relied too firmly on the affections of his subjects, ever to use any guards for the protection of his person; that they would all be his guards in the day of battle; but that the service required, in which he and they should be equally competitors for glory, was to repel the daring invasion of the Danes—a nation to whom they bore the most incurable animosity. The king limited the aid which he received

to 3,000 men; and these formed a grotesque appearance. Some, whose families had preserved the rusty, uncouth weapons of antiquity, gloried in the possession, and fancied themselves thoroughly equipped for war; but the greater number had no other resource than those rustic instruments of labour used in the mines or in husbandry, which seemed the best calculated for their purpose. They, however, felt in their own minds that undaunted courage, which disdained to cast away a thought upon any superiority of weapons.

The stipulated number of Norwegian troops being assembled on the borders, and the other necessary preparations made, prince Charles of Hesse invaded Sweden (Sept. 24th.) on the day fixed and publicly notified. He was accompanied by the prince royal of Denmark, who, determined upon serving this campaign as a volunteer, and of acquiring the first rudiments of war under his uncle, had for some time been absent from Copenhagen, in order to evade the anxious solicitude of the court to dissuade him from his intention, if it had been known or suspected. It is but justice to the commander in chief to observe, (and the prince his nephew in every instance merits likewise a full share of the praise), that no invading army perhaps ever entered any country under such strict regulations and wise precautions, to prevent almost the possibility of any outrage, insult, or injury being offered to the inhabitants, as upon this occasion. The excellent discipline of the Norwegian troops, and still more the native honesty, few wants, and temperate habits of the hardy, laborious common soldiers, seemed in a great measure to preclude the necessity of this care; a more striking instance of which needs not to be given, than that, when hungry and tired after a long march, they entered houses that were abandoned by the inhabitants, their continence would not admit of their touching the victuals that lay before them, nor would they take so much as an egg until it was purchased and paid for. In the same laudable spirit the prince of Hesse strictly forbade the Norwegian peasantry from marauding upon (according to the custom of former wars) the Swedish borders;

borders; nor were any vagrants, upon any pretence, allowed to attend or follow the army; nor did he levy any contributions from the inhabitants, but all the supplies for the army were either paid for in ready money, or in bills equivalent to money.

The invasion of the Danes was along the sea-coast, from Frederickstadt; and the country was so covered with rocks and mountains, and so intersected by lakes, channels, and inlets from the sea, as well as defiles, scarcely practicable to any but the inhabitants of the country, or their neighbours, the Norwegians, that the invaders seemed to have sufficient difficulties to surmount in their march, without any intervention of an enemy. In two days after the entrance of the prince of Hesse into Sweden, the port town of Stromstadt fell without opposition into his hands, where he found a royal magazine of provisions, to him of great importance, and which afforded the army a plentiful supply of those ever-welcome articles, bread, beer, and brandy.

The state of defence on the side of Sweden consisted of a body of between five and six thousand men, under the command of general Hierta, which lay a considerable distance inland, at a place called Wenersburg, the town taking its name from the lake on which it stands. From this exceedingly faulty position, that body was not only rendered useless, while the difficult passes and defiles on the coast were left open and unguarded, but a detachment of a few hundred men, and some field pieces, which were posted on that side under the conduct of colonel Tranefield, were necessarily destined to be sacrificed without use or purpose. To complete the absurdity, Tranefield was chained down like a machine to his post, which he was not to quit without fresh orders, under any change of circumstances whatever, while the distance from Hierta was such, that it would cost four or five days to send for and receive them.

However inexplicable this conduct may be, the consequence is easily foreseen. The prince of Hesse having seized all the defiles in the rear of the Swedes, enclosed them on all sides in their strong post at Quistrum, the difficulty

culty of the country, which would in other circumstances have constituted their security, now only serving to render their escape impossible. The vast superiority of the Danes soon obviated all the difficulties presented in the approach by rocks, mountains, and torrents, although the Swedes covered them as well as they could with their field pieces. On the 27th the action was brisk, though short; the Norwegians climbing up the precipices with the agility of rock foxes, as their enemy in derision called them, the Swedes were soon in a situation which rendered all resistance fruitless. A parley was accordingly beat, and the whole Swedish corps obliged to surrender as prisoners of war.

The Swedes behaved with all the gallantry which their situation and force could admit. It happened, however, fortunately, that the loss of men on both sides was very moderate. The prisoners, who somewhat exceeded eight hundred, were treated with the greatest attention and kindness, and were released upon their parole not to serve against the empress of Russia during the war. This little affair afforded an opportunity to the prince of Denmark of being, what in sportsman's language would be called *blooded*, and of acquiring a practical knowledge of the distinction between the music of great balls and small ones, as they flew over and by him.

The prince of Hesse then marched to Uddewalla, a rich and trading city, with its harbour full of shipping. The inhabitants had armed themselves, thrown up an entrenchment, and prepared for defence; but perceiving they had no support, and the prince having taken care to acquaint them that he made no war upon private property, they submitted quietly; while the complete security which he afforded to the town and shipping fully justified their confidence. In the mean time, Bahus, with its castle (once deemed a fortress of great importance) with a number of other places, all fell without resistance into the hands of the Danes, while the prince pushed on detachments to secure the bridges and roads on the way to Gottenburgh.

Having

Having arrived at Strom, and gained a passage, with some difficulty, over the river Giotha, at the mouth of which Gottenburgh stands, he made no doubt that when his army had advanced, on both sides of the river, within sight of the ramparts, the city, seeing itself completely invested, and being sensible of the greatness of the immediate danger, would have readily submitted to a capitulation : For, the place being surrounded by eminences, and the houses mostly built of timber, that rich and fine city was liable to instant destruction by a bombardment. The prince of Hesse had likewise intelligence that the garrison was only weak, and the fortifications naked of artillery, so that resistance would be attended with the double risque of the city being carried by assault, while it was smoking under the effect of the bombardment. The wealth of the inhabitants, however, afforded no small security, that they would not by resistance urge so deplorable a catastrophe, as this dreadful accumulation of danger could not fail to produce.

Prince Charles of Hesse thought it necessary, before the passions of the people were too much agitated by his approach, to despatch a general officer to Gottenburgh, to propose terms of capitulation to them. But the governor had not waited for the arrival of the Danish officer, or the approach of the enemy ; he had already summoned a meeting of the inhabitants, at which he represented the danger they were in, and recommended a submission to them as the only means of preserving the city ; a proposal with which they generally, if not universally, agreed. Thus was the rich mart, and great emporium of the foreign commerce of Sweden, the only port of any value which she possessed on the ocean, at the very point of being lost ; nothing more being wanted to seal her destiny, than the arrival of the Danish officer to conclude the capitulation.

A vigilance seldom equalled, along with unusual personal exertion, on the side of the king, prevented an event so ruinous and disgraceful to the nation and to himself from taking place. Aware of the danger to which Gottenburgh might be exposed in his absence, he performed

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a long journey on horseback, alone, travelling night and day with more than the expedition of a courier for its preservation. It was to the utmost astonishment of the inhabitants, that, within a few hours after their determination to surrender, the king, whom they thought to be far distant, and likewise to be cut off by the enemy's parties (which were spread through the country) from almost the possibility of approach, on the 3d of October arrived in that city.

His first act was to displace the governor; and, having summoned a meeting of the inhabitants for the following morning, his usual powers of persuasion produced the happiest effect, on a people who were already greatly ashamed of the dastardliness which their conduct on the preceding day indicated. All thought of the danger of houses and property was now at an end, or at least nobody would hazard the mention of such an idea; and it was unanimously determined, that, in conjunction with the garrison, the place should be defended to the last extremity. The astonishment of the Danish general, on his arrival, was undoubtedly no less than that which the inhabitants had already experienced, when he found himself led blind-folded into the city, and introduced directly into the king's presence. The precaution was indeed rather farcical, as the enemy were as well acquainted with the defences of Gottenburgh as the inhabitants.

Though the place was thus saved for a moment, yet the situation of that city, as well as of the king himself, was still very critical, and indeed perilous. For he had no force in his hands, or within reach, at all competent to oppose with effect the Danish army, and the desperate obstinacy of his courage was such, that nobody doubted his determination to perish in the ruins, sooner than relinquish the place; while the native spirit of his subjects would scarcely admit those who were present to be unwilling partakers of the ruin.

The intervention of the mediating powers of England, Prussia, and Holland, distant though they were, saved Sweden, and saved the king from so dreadful a crisis, and afforded a new and eminent instance of the utility of that watchful

watchful attention in states to the affairs and situation of their neighbours, which operates to prevent the great from swallowing up the small, and any combination of power from entirely crushing an individual. Thorough this vigilant spirit and disposition, this forward look into futurity, as well as wise precaution against near danger, Europe has preserved, for several ages, though at different periods in a less or greater degree, some reasonable balance of power between its respective states, and thereby escaped that general despotism, which has so often oppressed and enslaved the greater part of mankind. To this also, arts, science, literature, civilization, and humanity, owe the greatest obligations.

It happened singularly enough, in this season of business, trouble, and commotion in the north, that neither Great Britain, Prussia, nor even France, had any public minister resident at the court of Stockholm. To remedy this want, Mr. Elliot, the British minister at the court of Copenhagen, immediately passed over to Sweden, and, having announced, by letter to the prince of Hesse, his new character of delegate from the allied mediating powers, he proceeded to act in their joint name, and joined the king at Gottenburgh. The zeal, address, dexterity, and ability, displayed by this minister in all the parts of a successful, but very difficult, negotiation, have seldom been equalled, and can never be exceeded; a stronger demonstration of which needs not to be given, than that his merits were fully and generously acknowledged by those, who considered him as entirely inimical to their interests, and felt themselves suffering under their effect.

In his first letter to the prince, Mr. Elliot informed him, that the Swedish sovereign having accepted the mediation of the allied powers, and a courier being already despatched from Berlin to demand a general armistice of the empress, he wished at the same time to settle with him the means of concluding a particular armistice for the present, until the intended arrangements could take place. Prince Charles, in his answer, declined entering into any negotiation upon the subject, as he could not, without
express

express orders from his Danish majesty, depart from that line of conduct which was prescribed to him.

In Mr. Elliot's second letter, he acquainted the prince, that by a courier just arrived from Berlin he had received certain intelligence, that the offensive operations of the army which he commanded in Sweden were regarded in such a light by the allied sovereigns, that, to prevent their further progress, an immediate attack on Denmark, by the combined forces of Prussia and Great Britain, was determined upon; that this fact being of too much importance to be concealed from the prince royal, he should therefore demand an audience of his royal highness; and that he still flattered himself with being able to find means, by which the prince of Hesse should fulfil his engagements with Russia, without any farther effusion of blood.

Prince Charles returned an answer to this in the name of the prince royal: "That he had too firm a reliance on the king his uncle, and the whole British nation, always so faithful to their engagements, ever to fear any thing on their side, after their being long ago apprised of the several reasons from which the king his father could not refuse a corps of auxiliaries to the empress of Russia: That this corps, in which he was himself a mere volunteer, having been relinquished to her majesty's disposal, in conformity to the tenour and terms of a treaty, he did not think himself at all authorised to stop its further progress." After some reasoning in justification of the invasion, as to manner and place, the prince of Denmark concluded, that he would, however, despatch a courier to Copenhagen, the answer from whence should decide the further steps of the auxiliaries.

Two days after (Oct. 7th.) a Prussian officer arrived in the Norwegian camp with another letter from Mr. Elliot, in which that minister informed the princes, that the kings of Prussia and England could by no means consider their troops as a Russian, but absolutely as a Danish army, and consequently addressed themselves, through him, to require an immediate cessation of all further progress in the Swedish territories. That he, the minister,

being furnished with full powers by the king of Sweden for treating with the prince of Hesse on a cessation of hostilities, upon just and honourable conditions, either as field-marshal of the king of Denmark, or as commander of a corps of auxiliary troops ceded to Russia, he would (notwithstanding a severe indisposition) find means to be conveyed to the head-quarters, in order to settle the conditions of an armistice without delay.

To give the greater force to his arguments, and effect to his proposal, Mr. Elliot observed, that at the moment he was writing, war was perhaps already declared against Denmark by Prussia and England; but that, in case prince Charles was seriously inclined to seize the present opportunity of doing that service to humanity which he proposed to him, he would immediately despatch couriers to Berlin and London, to stop, if possible, both the invasion of a Prussian army in Holstein, and the sailing of an English fleet for the Sound. He further observed, that he had chosen baron d'Albröyhl to be the bearer of that letter, because, being a Prussian officer, he could confirm every thing he had asserted, with respect to the preparation and determination of his master. Mr. Elliot concluded his letter by an indirect application to the prince royal, requesting that it might be read to him, and taking notice that it was written by the ambassador of the king his uncle; by a man wholly devoted to his royal highness, and who was risking his own life (alluding to his illness) to prevent the effusion of the blood of others.

The first apparent effect of Mr. Elliot's intervention, was a change in the position of the Danish army, that part which had passed the Gietha, in order to enclose Gottenburgh on both sides, being now recalled, and the head-quarters transferred from Strom to Trotska.

It is not easy to discover what interest Great Britain could have in this affair; but vanity had turned the brain of the British minister, Mr. Pitt, since the affair of Holland; and he incessantly burned with the ambition of appearing as a war minister, and lavishing the blood and treasure of Englishmen, on every absurd quarrel. What his

his rashness would have provoked, the prudence of the Danish councils prevented. Another change was made in the position of the army, by which it was moved farther from the scene of jealousy and contest; and the headquarters were removed to the neighbourhood of Bahus, where Mr. Elliot attended the princes in person. To his former strong representations on the necessity of an immediate armistice, in order to prevent the greatest evils, and to ward off the most imminent danger, he now held out the flattering hope, that it would afford the means of producing a speedy pacification in the north; an event which would not be more happy to Sweden, than glorious to the princes, and to the two allied powers themselves.

This pleasing idea, so happily contrasted with the evils before held out, could not fail of effect. An armistice was immediately concluded (Oct. 9th) for eight days, as preparatory to one for a longer term, the avowed object of both being, to afford time for negotiating a general peace under the auspices of the mediating powers. In the mean time, a strong remonstrance from the king of Prussia was presented at the Court of Copenhagen, including a threat of an immediate invasion of Holstein, if the Danish forces were not withdrawn from Sweden; and the baron de Borcke arrived as minister from Berlin at Gottenburgh, in order to coincide with and confirm the proceedings of Mr. Elliot.

Notwithstanding the various difficulties which the negotiating ministers had to surmount, another armistice for a month was happily concluded: And this was succeeded by a third, for six months, the term of which did not expire until the 15th of May 1789.—The prince of Hesse withdrew his army from Sweden into Norway, rather before the middle of November.

CHAP. XXIV.

*The mental illness of the king—The parliament assemble---
 The royal physicians examined—Mr. Fox strenuously
 supports the claim of the prince of Wales—Debates in
 both houses respecting the right of the prince of Wales
 to assume the government—Death of the speaker---
 Outlines of the regency bill---Debates upon it---His
 majesty recovers---Procession to St. Paul's---The Irish
 parliament request the prince to assume the government
 ---Money granted for fortifying the West India islands
 ---The shop tax repealed---Mr. Beaufoy moves for the
 repeal of the test act---Earl Stanhope's motion for the
 repeal of the penal statutes respecting religion---Mr.
 Wilberforce moves for the abolition of the slave trade
 -- The question adjourned till the succeeding session---
 The duties on tobacco transferred from the customs to
 the excise---State of the finances---Mr. Hastings' trial
 continued---The session terminates---Operations of the
 Russians and Austrians against the Turks---Belgrade
 taken by the forces of the Emperor---Progress of the
 French revolution---The king visits Paris---M. Neckar
 recalled---The assembly form a new constitution---The
 Poissardes proceed to Versailles---The king and his
 family go to reside in Paris.*

[A. D. 1788 to 1790.]

SOON after the recess of parliament, the king, who had been indisposed for sometime, was advised by his physicians to go to Cheltenham, to take the benefit of the mineral waters of that place, which he was believed to drink in too profuse a quantity. Nevertheless, his health, during his residence there, appeared greatly established; and he amused himself and gratified his people by various excursions in the vicinity; displaying on these occasions much condescension and affability, and being every-where received with loud acclamations.

When he returned to Windsor, late in the summer, his illness returned with new and alarming symptoms.

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By the end of October, it could no longer be concealed that the malady of the king was of a nature peculiarly afflictive and dreadful. A mental derangement had taken place, which rendered him totally incapable of public business.

A few days previous to the 20th of November, the day to which the parliament had been prorogued, the ministers issued a circular letter, in which they set forth the impracticability of a farther prorogation, and earnestly requested the attendance of the members. Parliament being accordingly assembled, the state of the king's health was formally notified to the house of peers by the lord chancellor, and to the commons by Mr. Pitt: And as the session of parliament could not be opened in the regular mode, an adjournment of fourteen days was recommended; at which term, if the king's illness should unhappily continue, it would be incumbent upon them to enter immediately into the state of public affairs. Upon the re-assembling of the parliament, on the 4th of December, a report of the board of privy council was presented to the two houses, containing an examination of the royal physicians; and it was properly suggested, that considering the extreme delicacy of the subject, and the dignity of the person concerned, parliament would do well to rest satisfied without any more direct and express information; especially as the examinations of the council had been taken upon oath, which the house of commons had no power to administer.

The situation of affairs was, at this period, singularly critical. The prince of Wales, into whose hands the government of the country was soon likely to fall, retained a deep resentment against the present ministers, for their recent conduct respecting him; and took no pains to conceal his decided predilection for the person and politics of Mr. Fox. This distinguished leader, on the earliest intelligence of the king's indisposition, had returned from a summer excursion to Bologna in Italy with incredible expedition; and, in contemplation of an approaching change, a new arrangement of administration was already believed to be formed, consisting of the

principal members of the former coalition ministry, lord North only excepted, and of which, the duke of Portland was to be once more the ostensible head. The policy of opposition seemed evidently repugnant to every idea of unnecessary delay. Yet doubts were unaccountably started by Mr. Burke, and others of the same party, whether parliament could in this momentous case dispense with that sort of evidence on which they had been accustomed to proceed. The validity of the objection was very faintly contested; and a committee of twenty-one persons in each house, after no long debate, appointed to examine and report the sentiments of the royal physicians. The report of the committee was laid upon the table of the house of commons on the 10th of December; when a motion was made by Mr. Pitt, for the appointment of another committee to inspect the journals for precedents of such proceedings as had been adopted in former instances, when the sovereign authority was suspended by sickness, infirmity, or any other cause.

Upon the further discussion of this subject, there arose a great difference of opinion between the two great leaders of the two sides of the house. Mr. Fox, at the head of opposition, advanced as a proposition deducible from the principles of the constitution, and the analogy of the law of hereditary succession, "that whenever the sovereign was incapable of exercising the function of his high office, the heir apparent, if of full age and capacity, had as indisputable a claim to the exercise of the executive authority, in the name, and on the behalf of the sovereign, during his incapacity, as in the case of his natural demise."

Mr. Pitt, the leader of administration, on the contrary, declared with much warmth, "that the assertion which had been made by Mr. Fox was little short of *treason* against the constitution. And he pledged himself to prove, that the heir apparent, in the instances in question, had no more right to the exercise of the executive power than *any other person*, and that it belonged entirely to the two remaining branches of the legis-

legislature, to make such a provision for supplying the temporary deficiency as they might think proper."

At length, a committee of twenty-one, of whom nine were members of opposition, was appointed to inquire into precedents conformably to Mr. Pitt's motion.

The assertion of Mr. Fox, in the above instance, was considered by some persons as a rash and unguarded expression, advanced in the warmth of debate, and on the urgency of the occasion, and which, having once unfortunately pronounced, he was afterwards obliged to defend, to preserve an appearance of consistency in his political conduct. The assertion of Mr. Fox was, however, not made without due deliberation; nor was the opposition of Mr. Pitt a sudden blaze of zeal for the constitutional rights of the people, nor did he oppose the doctrine from a general principle of democracy. Both of these statesmen had their particular and specific object. It was the design of Mr. Pitt, who was fortunate at the moment in having a parliament well disposed to his views, to place the authority of the regent under such strict and embarrassing limitations, as in all probability must have rendered the dismissal of himself and his colleagues a matter of extreme difficulty to the new government, and must at least facilitate their return to power; and as Mr. Fox was, probably, not unapprised of the intentions of the minister, by asserting strongly the unqualified succession of the Prince of Wales, there is reason to suppose that he flattered himself with the hope of defeating the project, and, by laying a strong foundation, expected in some degree to fortify those arguments which he might find it necessary to urge against that restricted exercise of the executive power, which must have rendered the government of the Prince weak, if not impermanent.

Whatever has the appearance of supporting the democratic branch of the constitution against the claims of prerogative, is always popular, but it is not always the most favourable to liberty. To superficial observers, it seems an extension of the people's rights; but it is only
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by recurring to the first principles of government, and of the constitution, that its real tendency can be ascertained. To invest the houses of parliament with the power of regulating the executive department of government, whenever the usual succession, from accidental causes, suffers any interruption, may appear, at first view, only consistent with those enlarged principles of liberty on which the basis of all legitimate government ought to be constructed; but it should not be forgotten, that the same reasoning might be extended to the succession in general; and our own experience has proved, that the safest mode of providing for the executive department of government, is by the direct *hereditary* course; and the experience of every other nation, where an elective sovereignty is established, has abundantly shewn the pernicious effects which result from so indefinite and capricious an institution.

If hereditary monarchy, therefore, is found salutary in the general, why should not the institution extend to every particular case? The name or title of the supreme magistrate, is of little importance, provided he governs according to established laws, the object of which is the welfare of the people. If, further, the executive department can be conducted under closer restrictions than are at present established, will it not follow, that the restrictions should be made permanent, and bind the sovereign as well as the regent? The sole object of government is the welfare and protection of the community; it is only a matter of dispute, with what prerogatives and powers it is necessary to invest the first officer of the state, in order to enable him to fulfil the functions of his important station, and to carry on, without vexatious interruption, the proper business of the nation. But if certain privileges and prerogatives are necessary in the one case, are they not equally so in the other? The sovereign authority is not a property, but an office; to execute that office, certain powers are necessary; and whoever exercises it, and under whatever name he acts, he ought to be possessed of those necessary powers; and no man, under any title or denomination, ought to be invested
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with more than are necessary. Such appears to be the only clear and obvious point of view in which the question of the regency can be placed; and from this view, few men of reflexion will doubt, that for the sake of public tranquillity, and to frustrate the machinations of faction, the same rule of succession ought to be established as in the case of the demise of the crown; and the regent ought to be invested with all the necessary authorities and powers for the competent transacting of the business of the state.

In this view, the only circumstance that can create a difference between the regular succession to the sovereignty, and that to the regency, and the only point in the latter case to be secured, is, that the legal possessor shall not be excluded from a resumption of his proper authority, whenever the existing impediment shall be removed. For this, in the instance in question, the faith, integrity, and character of the two other branches of the legislature, would have been solemnly pledged; on these, in every event, the matter must have ultimately depended; and these appear to have been sufficient, without any further provision.

This short statement will serve, in some measure, to illustrate the different opinions supported on this subject by Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt; the former asserted that the prince of Wales had an *absolute right* to succeed to the regency, while the latter admitted only that he had an *irrefragable claim*: and from what has been remarked on the particular views of each of these great parliamentary leaders, the difference was more than verbal. It will serve, at the same time, to supersede the necessity of entering into a detail of the long and generally uninteresting parliamentary debates, which succeeded in both houses. If the prince and his party had been more popular, his claim, as of right, to the regency, would probably have been received with more complacency; but as it was evident, from the complexion of both houses, that such a claim would have been resisted to the utmost, it was thought advisable not to bring the subject to a formal decision; and on the 15th of December, the duke of York,

York, in the name of his royal highness, waved the question of right, and deprecated the proceeding to a decision on an abstract political question, while the different parties were substantially agreed. He was followed to the same effect by the duke of Gloucester; but so confident were the ministers in their success, that, on the succeeding day, Mr. Pitt moved three resolutions, the object of which was to declare, that his Majesty, being prevented by indisposition from attending to public business, "it was the right and duty of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority." The motions were opposed chiefly upon the principles which have been already stated. Mr. Fox observed upon the proceedings, that if a foreigner was to enquire, whether the monarchy of Great Britain was hereditary or elective, the obvious answer in consequence of what had now passed, must be—"That when the King is in good health, the monarchy is hereditary; but when he is ill, and incapable of exercising the sovereign authority, it is elective."

These arguments were considerably strengthened by an observation of lord North, who remarked, that, in the present state of affairs, the legislature was evidently incomplete; that therefore no act could be valid; and that the first step ought to be, to nominate a regent, and then proceed to enact whatever regulations the exigencies of the times might require: and an additional reason against the mode of proceeding adopted by Mr. Pitt was, that supposing the right of nominating lay entirely in the two houses of parliament, what must be the consequence, if the two houses should happen to disagree, concerning the person to be appointed regent?

While the parliament was engaged in these public contests, the two parties were not less active in forming their respective arrangements in private. It has been asserted, that the new ministry was at least in part appointed: that the duke of Portland was nominated the first lord of the treasury; lord John Cavendish, chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Fox, and lord Stormont,

mont, secretaries of state; lord Loughborough, lord high chancellor; and earl Spencer, lord lieutenant of Ireland. Some hesitation ensued respecting the mode of disposing of lord Thurlow. It was generally believed that he was well affected to joining with the new administration, but some of the leading members of that party were said strongly to have opposed his admission into the cabinet. Other causes of dissatisfaction are said to have presented themselves, and to have produced a temporary schism among the friends of the prince. No political party that has existed in this country, perhaps, ever evinced to entire a deficiency of prudence and policy, in all their proceedings, as that which has been denominated the Portland party. We had occasion to remark this circumstance in their first secession from office, in their coalition with lord North, and in their conduct with respect to the St. Alban's meeting. On the occasion of which we are now treating, a similar want of judgement was manifested. It has been asserted, that the partiality of the prince to the splendid abilities of Mr. Sheridan, wished to secure for that gentleman a situation where his services might have been employed to the advantage of the nation. Some of the party, however, were suspected of being actuated by a malignant jealousy of talents which eclipsed their own; and others, through the weakness of aristocratical pride, are reported to have vehemently opposed the exaltation of a plebeian to the honour of a seat in the cabinet council. Mr. Fox, wearied and disgusted by these contentions, is said, by a ministerial writer, to have "withdrawn from the scene, and retired to Bath," to dissipate his chagrin, while "the disordered state of his health was assigned as a pretext for his secession at so extraordinary a juncture."

A. D. 1789. The death of Mr. Cornwall, speaker of the house of commons, on the 2d of January, seemed to complete the singularity and perplexity of the public situation of affairs; and when the vacant chair was filled by Mr. Grenville on the 5th, the irregularity of his entering upon the duties of his office, without the sanction of the royal approbation, was scarcely noticed, amidst the pre-
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sure of affairs of so much more importance. The bill of limitations, when ready to be introduced into the house, was obstructed by an unseasonable motion of Mr. Loveden, that the physicians be re-examined on the subject of the king's illness, and the probability of recovery. This motion was the result of various reports respecting the disagreement of opinions amongst the physicians themselves, reports sufficiently corroborated by the subsequent examinations, which left the house as much in the dark as ever as to the event; answering no other purpose than an idle delay, of which the minister well knew the value and the advantage. Mr. Pitt at length wrote a letter to the prince of Wales, informing him of the plan meant to be pursued:—That the care of the king's person, and the dispositions of the royal household, should be committed to the queen, who would by this means be vested with the patronage of four hundred places, amongst which were, the great offices of lord steward, lord chamberlain, and master of the horse. That the power of the prince should not extend to the granting of any office, reversion, or pension, for any other term than during the king's pleasure, nor to the conferring any peerage. The answer of the prince was firm, dignified, and temperate. He said, that it was with deep regret, that he perceived in the propositions of administration a project for introducing weakness, disorder, and insecurity into every branch of political business; for separating the court from the state, and depriving government of its natural and accustomed support; a scheme for disconnecting the authority to command service from the power of animating it by reward; and for allotting to him all the invidious duties of the kingly station, without the means of softening them to the public by any one act of grace, favor, or benignity. He observed, that the plea of public utility must be strong, manifest, and urgent, that could thus require the extinction or suspension of any one of those essential rights in the supreme power or its representative, or which could justify the prince in consenting, that in his person an experiment should be made to ascertain with how small a portion of kingly power

power the executive government could be conducted. In fine, the prince declared, that his conviction of the evils which might otherwise arise, outweighed in his mind every other consideration, and would determine him to take the painful trust imposed upon him by that melancholy necessity, which of all the king's subjects he deplored most.

On the 16th of January, Mr. Pitt introduced a bill for appointing a regency into the house of commons, formed upon the plan of which the outlines had just before been communicated to the prince. Long and violent debates ensued in both houses, in the course of which, a protest was entered on the journals of the house of Lords, signed by the duke of York, at the head of the princes of the blood, and fifty-five other peers, expressive of their highest indignation at the restrictions on the executive authority, thus arbitrarily imposed. These extraordinary proceedings were at length, happily for the public, arrested in their progress, by an intimation from the lord chancellor, that the king was declared, by his physicians, to be in a state of convalescence. This was followed by a declaration, on the 10th of March, that his majesty, being perfectly recovered from his indisposition, had ordered a commission to be issued for holding the parliament in the usual manner. The tidings of the king's recovery diffused the most general and heart-felt satisfaction. The 23d of April was appointed as a day of public thanksgiving for his majesty's recovery; but the manner of its celebration in London, could scarcely meet the serious approbation of men of sense. The parade of a public exhibition was but little consistent with the solemnity of the occasion. To extend the procession, St. Paul's, instead of Westminster Abbey, (the vicinity of which to the court apparently made it more convenient), was chosen as the place where his majesty was to perform his devotions. Both houses of parliament were formally summoned to attend; and even *committees* were appointed to deliberate on the manner of going to St. Paul's; and, as if to stamp the

whole transaction with an air of ridicule, *Saint George's* day was fixed upon for the solemnity.

The conduct of the Irish parliament, respecting the regency, formed a striking contrast to that of the English; and was dictated by a policy the most simple, obvious, and rational. When the incapacity of the sovereign was ascertained, Mr. Conolly, on the 11th of February, moved, "That an address be presented to the prince of Wales, requesting him immediately to take upon himself the government of that kingdom, as regent, during the continuance of the king's incapacity." This was carried without a division. To this resolution the house of lords acceded. But the lord lieutenant, the marquis of Buckingham, (late earl Temple), refusing, by a rash and hazardous exercise of discretion, to transmit this address to England, commissioners were appointed, by both houses, to present the address, in person, to the prince of Wales. But the rapid and unexpected recovery of the king, superseded the object of their commission. The prince, in his reply, however declared, "That nothing could obliterate from his memory the sentiments of gratitude which he felt for their generous kindness." After the resumption of the royal authority, the parliament proceeded, as usual, with the ordinary business of the nation; but the session was not fertile in important discussions. It appeared that the late proceedings of the ministry, were in the highest degree acceptable to the sovereign; and those persons, holding posts under the government, who had concurred in the measures of the opposition, were unceremoniously dismissed from their offices, amongst whom were the marquis of Lothian, the duke of Queensberry, lord Carteret, and lord Malmesbury.

On the 18th of March, a demand from the ordnance of 218,000*l.* for the purpose of fortifying the West India islands, served to excite the ridicule of Mr. Courtenay and Mr. Sheridan, and the serious opposition of general Burgoyne, and other military men. It was observed, that in islands which had but few landing places,

places, fortifications might be useful in the beginning of hostilities, to prevent surprise; but this was the case but with few of our islands; and even where it was the case, they might, in the course of a war, prove rather of disadvantage. A hostile commander might at any time enforce a capitulation, by threatening to burn the plantations; and, having once obtained possession, might turn our fortifications against ourselves, as he could not be supposed to have much regard to the property of the planters. The immense number of additional troops which would be required, formed another objection; and it was urged, that the unhealthiness of the climate rendered these islands the graves of the British soldiery. Notwithstanding these arguments, however, the proposal of the master general was acceded to without a division.

Mr. Fox, on the 2d of April, renewed his popular motion for the repeal of the shop tax, to which Mr. Pitt did not, in the present circumstances, choose any longer to refuse his assent; though he declared, "he had heard nothing in the way of argument, which induced him to change his original opinion." He accordingly moved an omission of that part of the preamble to the bill of repeal, by which the tax was pronounced a partial and oppressive imposition, militating against the just principles of taxation.

In consequence of the repeal of the shop tax, the additional tax and restrictions which had been laid upon hawkers and pedlars were also, upon a motion of Mr. Dempster, taken off.

Mr. Beaufoy, on the eighth of May, made a motion for the repeal of the corporation and test acts, in the same manner that had been done two years before; prompted, as he said, by the unalterable confidence which the Dissenters reposed in the disposition of the house to do justice to the injured, and to afford relief to the oppressed. And they could not forget how frequently the legislature had granted the requests, which causeless alarms had at first induced them to refuse. Mr. Fox supported this motion with a force of argument which made a great im-

pression upon his hearers. He laid it down as a primary axiom of policy : " That no human government had jurisdiction over opinions as such, and more particularly religious opinions. It had no right to presume that it knew them, and much less to act upon that presumption. When opinions were productive of acts injurious to society, the law knew how and where to apply the remedy. If the reverse of this doctrine were adopted, if the actions of men were to be prejudged from their opinions, it would sow the seeds of everlasting jealousy and distrust ; it would give the most unlimited scope to the malignant passions ; it would excite each man to divine the opinions of his neighbour, to deduce mischievous consequences from them, and then to prove that he ought to incur disabilities, to be fettered with restrictions, to be harrassed with penalties. Every extravagance of religious hate, every system of political persecution, and every species of party zeal, had flowed from this intolerant principle." Mr. Beaufoy was also supported in his motion by Mr. Smith, member for Sudbury ; but he was opposed upon the old grounds, by lord North and Mr. Pitt. On a division, there appeared, for the motion one hundred and two, and against it one hundred and twenty-two.

Immediately after this debate, the house of lords was agitated by a question somewhat similar. A bill was introduced by earl Stanhope, for the repeal of all the penal statutes which had been enacted upon matters of religion, inflicting penalties upon persons absenting themselves from the service of the church, speaking in derogation of the book of common prayer, using sorcery, &c. which, he observed, were a disgrace to our statute-books. On the second reading, Dr. Moore, archbishop of Canterbury, rose to give his decided opposition to the measure. He contended, that if unrestrained speaking, writing, and publishing, on the subject of religion were tolerated, there was scarcely any mischief to the church or to civil society, that imagination could frame, which might not be effected. " The very foundation of religion, he said, *as by law established*, might be undermined and overthrown." It would have been more fortunate for
Christianity

Christianity if this British prelate had mentioned religion as having a nobler foundation than human laws. The bill at length was rejected, rather as too general and indiscriminate, than as being wrong in its principle.

Earl Stanhope was not discouraged by this defeat from shortly after introducing a bill to prevent suits in the ecclesiastical courts for the recovery of tithes ; but it experienced the same fate as the preceding.

On the 12th of May 1789, the slave trade was formally brought under the consideration of parliament. By the resolutions of the preceding year, the house of commons stood pledged for an early notice of this important subject ; but from the peculiar circumstances of the nation, the discussion was necessarily deferred. The interval, however, was well employed by the friends of the abolition. Innumerable petitions had been presented from different quarters, and a very voluminous, accurate, and well-digested report of evidence, from the committee of the privy council, was laid upon the table. Some counter-petitions were also presented from persons chiefly interested in the trade.

Mr. Wilberforce, in a most eloquent and able speech, introduced a series of resolutions preliminary to the, question of abolition. He arranged the argument under three divisions. The first related to the trade, as it affected Africa itself, including the modes in which slaves were generally obtained ; the second related to the hardships which they endured in their transportation ; and the third regarded their treatment in the West Indies : The whole being founded upon the facts which had been established in the evidence before the privy council.

It appeared from the testimony of Mr. Wadstrom, captain Hill, Dr. Sparmann, and others, that the princes and chiefs of Africa never engaged in wars upon any public principle, but merely for the purpose of procuring slaves ; that this wretched continent was kept in a state of continual hostility, for the purpose of supporting that detestable traffic ; and that it was the source of the most affecting tragedies both in public and domestic life.

The practice of kidnapping, it was also proved, was almost universally predominant from the same cause; and, in a word, every natural tie, every benevolent affection, every principle of virtue was dissolved in those miserable and devoted regions, in consequence of the slave trade.

The horrors which were perpetrated in Africa, were only exceeded by the circumstances of their transportation. So much misery condensed in so small a compass, Mr. Wilberforce remarked, was more than even the human imagination had previously conceived. The state of the slaves on board the traders had, however, been described by the witnesses from Liverpool, as a state of more than Arcadian felicity: "They had several meals of pulse in a day, cooked with the most exquisite African sauces; they were perfumed with frankincense, and their hours were enlivened with the song and the dance." The plain foundation of this glowing description, according to the testimony of other *credible* witnesses, was this;—the exquisite sauce was hunger, and the pulse was horse-beans: with respect to the perfumes, sir George Young and others had declared, that the stench of a slave ship was not endured; they danced in fetters, and were compelled to this exercise by the music of the whip. "I," said one of the witnesses, "was employed to dance the men, while another person danced the women." While they sung they were always observed to be in tears; and in the same manner in which they were compelled to dance, they were compelled to eat, and instruments of torture were even carried out to force them to it. But as a full and decisive evidence of this misery, Mr. Wilberforce stated, that on an average it appeared, that the deaths on board the slave ships amounted to full seventeen in the hundred, exclusive of one third more who died in the seasoning.

Mr. Wilberforce concluded a long and excellent speech, equally addressed to the understanding and feelings of the house, and which produced a most sensible and powerful effect, by moving, not, as was generally expected, a general vote of censure and reprobation, which would
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have imposed an obligation on the house to have proceeded to strong and decisive measures; but an elaborate and tedious series of complex and somewhat dubious propositions, twelve in number, specifying that the number of negroes annually exported from Africa for the British West Indies, amounted to thirty eight thousand; and that the number which actually arrived there amounted to twenty-two thousand five hundred, on an average of four years: That the slaves were of the following descriptions; prisoners taken in war; persons sold for debt, or for pretended crimes, such as witchcraft, sorcery, &c. slaves sold by their masters or relations; and free persons kidnapped by the princes, by individuals, or by European traders: That an extensive commerce might be carried on with Africa, to the great advantage of Great Britain, if the slave-trade was abolished: That the slave-trade had been found peculiarly injurious to the British seamen; and that from considering well the causes which operate to prevent the natural increase of the population in the West-Indies, it appeared that no considerable inconvenience could result to the planters from the abolition of the slave-trade.

These propositions of Mr. Wilberforce afforded the mercantile interest, which is generally too forward in the support of every thing that is base and sordid, an ample field for objection. Lord Penryn, lord Sheffield, the members for London and several great trading towns, degraded themselves by becoming advocates for the continuance of this detestable traffic; but their baseless arguments were confuted by Mr. Burke, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and all the most enlightened and best informed of the commons. When lord Penryn in the course of the debate asserted upon his knowledge that the planters were willing to assent to any regulation of the trade, short of its abolition, Mr. Fox, with glowing eloquence, declared, "that he knew of no such thing as a regulation of robbery and restriction of murder. There was no medium; the legislature must either abolish the trade, or plead guilty to all the iniquity with which it was attended." The session however being far advanced, the
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friends of the abolition consented, on the 23d of June, to an adjournment of the question to the succeeding session of parliament.

From the respect that is due to honour, probity, and a good understanding, it is necessary to be observed in this place, that Mr. William Smith, member for Sudbury, was one of the zealous associates of Mr. Wilberforce, from the commencement of this business of humanity. He expressed his anxiety upon this occasion that the question should be brought to a speedy issue; the question, however, of adjournment was carried without a division, and the temporary regulation act of sir William Dolben was renewed for another year.

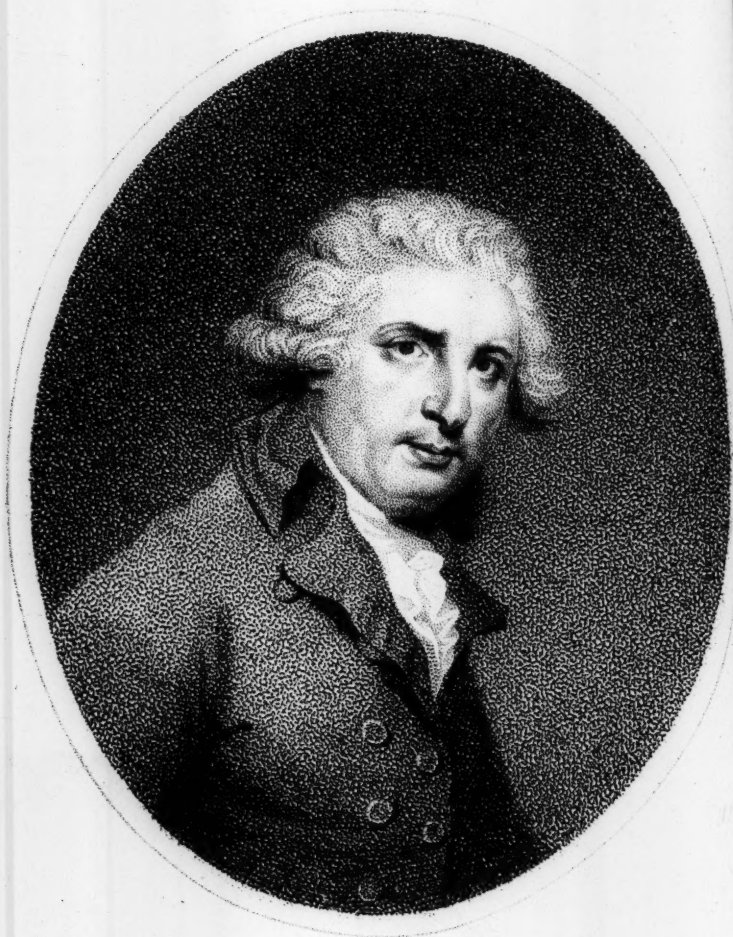
To shew the caprice and inconstancy of public opinion, let it be remarked, that in the course of this session the house adopted a proposition of Mr. Pitt, which had formerly nearly cost sir Robert Walpole his place, and endangered his life. However odious the excise laws had formerly appeared to the people, a bill was passed this session, which augmented those laws by transferring the duties on tobacco from the customs to the excise. The principle of the bill was warmly contested in both houses of parliament, particularly in the house of lords, by viscount Stormont and lord Loughborough, but without effect.

In the annual statement of the finances, it appeared, that the income of the country for each of the last two years, amounted, on an average, to fifteen millions five hundred and seventy-eight thousand pounds. The total sum of supplies the chancellor of the exchequer stated at five millions seven hundred and thirty thousand pounds, exclusive of the annual account of renewed exchequer bills. From several circumstances, however, particularly from the discharge of the prince of Wales's debts, from a large sum voted to the loyalists, and the expence of the armament in the preceding year, Mr. Pitt professed the necessity of having recourse to a loan of one million. The interest of this loan he proposed to discharge by a tontine, which he averaged at four and a half per cent. This sum, he observed, added to some deficiencies

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R.B. SHERIDAN, ESQ^R. M.P.



deficiencies, would call for taxes to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds per annum. To answer this, new duties were laid upon newspapers, advertisements, cards, dice, probates of wills, and upon horses and carriages.

Mr. Sheridan strongly controverted the statement of the finances given by Mr. Pitt, and moved, on the 10th of July, for a committee to enquire into the state of the revenue, in which he pledged himself to prove, "that the report of the committee of 1786 was not founded in fact; that for the three last years the expenditure had exceeded the income to the amount of two millions." Mr. Sheridan's proposal was resisted by the ministerial side of the house and rejected.

Early in the session the trial of Mr. Hastings was resumed, but the intervention of the circuits of the judges rendered it impossible for the lords to proceed upon the trial before the 20th of April, when the court was resumed and sat during the remainder of the session, seventeen days. The third article, respecting presents illegally and corruptly received by Mr. Hastings, was brought forward by Mr. Burke. In the course of his harangue, the honourable manager having occasion to mention the charge which had been instituted on this head against Mr. Hastings by Nunducumar, with his usual unguardedness of language, added, "that Mr. Hastings had murdered that man by the hands of sir Elijah Impey." As the transaction respecting Nunducumar made no part of the charges, Mr. Hastings thought proper to present a petition to the house of commons, in which he entreated them either to cause this and similar allegations, made by Mr. Burke, to be prosecuted in distinct articles, or to afford him such redress as the house might judge suitable and proper.

The petition was strongly resisted by Mr. Burke and his friends; but it received the cordial support of Mr. Pitt, as far as regarded the business of Nunducumar. After a long debate the house of commons resolved "that no authority has been given by the house, for the purpose of making any criminal charge respecting Nunducumar, and

and that the words complained of ought not to have been spoken." A resolution of censure was afterwards moved upon Mr. Burke, by the Marquis of Graham, and voted by a majority of one hundred and thirty-five against sixty-six. Little further progress was made in the trial; the session was terminated the 11th of August 1789, by a speech from the lord Chancellor in the name of the sovereign; in which it was observed "that although the good offices of the king and his allies had not been effectual for the restoration of the general tranquility, the situation of affairs promised to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace."

This assurance was highly grateful, in consequence of the recent events which had taken place in different kingdoms of Europe. A war had been kindled, which gradually diffused itself from the Euxine to the Baltic—from the snowy mountains of Norway to the sandy wastes of Tartary; and the foundation of a great and stupendous revolution had been laid in France, which almost instantly expanding itself into gigantic growth, became the subject of terror, no less than of astonishment, to the surrounding nations.

As the year 1789 was productive of more important events upon the continent of Europe, than perhaps any period of history has exhibited, since the reformation of religion, it has been deemed necessary to insert in this place the leading particulars of those events.

The loss of health and total ruin of his constitution, which were the unhappy effects the emperor experienced from his unfortunate campaign on the Danube, in the year 1788, produced no remission to the Ottomans on that side, in the succeeding year, from a renewal of those incessant assaults which they had so successfully withstood in the preceding. On the contrary, his generals being freed by that event, from his continual interference in their conduct and designs, and several of them being men of great experience and ability, they now, when left to themselves, acted with such vigour and success, that it seemed difficult to believe they commanded the same troops, who had so lately been repeatedly baffled and disgraced.

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The sovereign himself seemed, however, apprehensive that his absence from the army could not easily be supplied with effect, and in his anxiety to procure a proper substitute, thought it necessary to draw forth the old field marshal Haddick from his retirement, as it might be considered at the head of the war department in Vienna, and to place him at the head of the grand army. This general had undoubtedly great and long experience; perhaps exceeding in that respect any other in Europe. For he had been highly distinguished as an able and most active officer, in the earliest wars of the late empress Maria Theresa. But he had long lain dormant, and his great age seemed a full manumission from all farther active service. The prince de Ligne was appointed second in command under marshal Haddick. The prince of Saxe Cobourg, whose military reputation had risen very high since the commencement of the war, commanded on the side of Moldavia, Wallachia, and the Buckowine, and generally acted in concert with the Russians under general Suwarow and others. The prince of Hohenloe, commanded in Transylvania, where he had nearly a constant small war to maintain on the frontiers. The army expected and intended to be most effective, was that commanded by marshal Laudohn on the side of Croatia, who was assisted by the generals Rouvroi, Mitrowski, and others.

The very bad success of the former campaign, along with the unexampled waste of treasure and of men, with which it was accompanied, and a feeling sense of the heavy subsidies which must be provided for its continuance, had however, served, both at Vienna and in the provinces, effectually to cure the people of all inclination for the war. The splendid dreams of conquests, glory, and the spoils of ruined and vanquished nations, were now vanished, and the people, instead of thirsting for the wealth or blood of others, would have thought themselves happy indeed if they could preserve their own. Though this temper produced complaints and remonstrances from the provinces, they had no effect upon the court; the emperor's tarnished glory must, by some means,

means, though it were only by deputation, be restored to its lustre, and this could only be done by a successful campaign. In a grand council held at Vienna, soon after the opening of the year 1789, it was accordingly determined to support the war, in all its parts, with the utmost possible vigour; heavy subsidies were of course demanded and of necessity granted; the thinned ranks of the different armies were completely filled up; hope, design, and intended action were visible in every department; and it seemed rather the opening of a new war, than the prosecution of an old.

If the situation of the Ottomans was by no means mended in their contest with the emperor, they stood much worse with respect to their other potent and most determined enemy, than they had done at the commencement of the war. The fatality by which, contrary to all reason and probability, they had lost Oczakow, was irrecoverably ruinous. It seemed, indeed, an irresistible blow of providence, destined entirely to crush a sinking empire; and to be actually realising those old prophecies, by which they fancy themselves doomed, sooner or later, to become the victims of that northern people. Such a tradition, and an opinion so founded on both sides might produce no small effects, even without the aid of predestination, in nations much less superstitious and more enlightened, than either the Mussulmans or Russians.

By that fatal blow, besides the slaughter of several thousands of their chosen and best troops, and including a large proportion of their bravest and most adventurous officers, and by the loss of Choczim (which could not, however, have been preserved) the Russian armies were now in the heart of their dominions, both on the side of the black sea, and in their Danubian provinces. Thus they were to open the campaign under the greatest disadvantages, rather waiting the direction of the enemy in their attacks, than being able to pursue any comprehensive plan of their own for active service and offensive war. They had likewise lost the flower of their troops in other places besides Oczakow, during the bloody service of the last campaign; and it was perhaps the greatest fault
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that could be justly imputed to the conduct of the grand vizir, and indeed there could not be a greater, that he had been too prodigal of the lives of his men. Nor could this loss be supplied with effect. The innumerable new levies by which every part of the empire was now indiscriminately drained, being far inferior to those brave men who came forward in the fullness of confidence and enthusiasm to the defence of their country at the opening of the war.

On the other hand, the armies of their combined enemies were now in such positions, as would easily admit of their junction, if that should be found necessary, and consequently had a free choice of acting jointly or separately, as the occasion might offer, and advantage point out. Their vicinity likewise excited that emulation between the nations which produces such wonderful effects in war. The Austrian, who felt that the military character, and, as he conceived, honour of his country, had been tarnished in the last year, besides that powerful motive for exertion, was farther, and it might be said irresistibly impelled by the consideration, that he was acting immediately under the eye of the victorious and insulting Russian, whose constant triumphs led him to hold the enemy cheap, and to regard those with contempt who were less successful than himself.

In the course of the preceding year, a clamour was raised at Constantinople against the grand vizir, on account of his conduct in abandoning the Bannat. A violent faction was likewise formed against him in the diyan, which supported, and probably encouraged the intemperance of the populace. This might have been, perhaps, withstood without much difficulty, but the loss of Oczakow blew up a flame which it seemed scarcely possible to extinguish. Nothing could exceed the rage of the people upon receiving the account of that misfortune. All the blame was laid upon the unfortunate general; it was in vain to shew that he had provided amply and excellently for the defence of the place, and that no wisdom or care could guard against accident, or prevent

misfortune. All argument and reason was lost, and an ignorant and barbarous rabble thirsting for blood, thought that nothing could tend so much to the preservation of the empire, as the making a sacrifice of the only man who had shewn himself capable of retrieving its fortune.

It seemed so far fortunate for the grand vizir, that he had not arrived at the capital, at the time the news was received of the loss of Oczakow. In that case, nothing could have saved him from the fury of the multitude. The Grand Signior was almost his only friend, and almost the only person who would acknowledge a due sense of his merit, abilities, and service; but in these points he was inflexible, and neither violence without, nor cabals in the council, could bend him to the sacrifice of his minister and general. It, however, required not only all the sovereign's authority, but no small portion of management and address to save him; at least, without exasperating the people in too dangerous a degree. On the grand vizir's return to the capital, he was arrested at some distance, and brought prisoner under a very strong guard to Constantinople. As every person now considered him already as a dead man, it served much to allay the rage of the people, as the time spent in the forms and delays of a trial (which was publicly announced, and conducted with great parade) contributed still farther to blunt the edge of their fury. The novelty of a trial, under a government where state punishments are almost always summary and arbitrary, could not but greatly attract the public attention, and divert it from other matters. The result was, the honourable acquittal of the grand vizir from the two capital charges, of his having causelessly evacuated the Bannat, and of having, through neglect or ill-conduct, been the cause of the loss of Oczakow. The captain basha is said to have had a great share in the management of this affair; and the grand vizir being now freed from apparent danger, was glad to depart from an ungrateful capital, and, trusting to his fortune, and to the friendship and firmness of his royal master, resumed the command of the army (where he was adored) and

and made every preparation for supporting the war with vigour and firmness.

But the Ottoman empire was now to experience a domestic misfortune, more fatal, perhaps, than any it could have received from without, and which seemed destined in its consequences to obscure, if not to sink the Crescent for ever. This was the loss of its excellent sovereign, Abdul Hamet, who being taken suddenly ill in the street, dropped down, and notwithstanding the aid of medicine, expired early next morning, Ap. 7, 1789. His disorder seems to have been a kind of apoplexy, though his death, as is customary in such circumstances, with respect to princes, was attributed to poison. He was immediately succeeded by his nephew Selim, who, with the greatest integrity and honour, he had most carefully bred up and educated for that purpose, in prejudice to his own issue, but in a pious conformity with the last request of his dying brother and predecessor.

Abdul Hamet had departed entirely from that intolerable haughtiness and arrogance, those unjust and cruel maxims of policy, and that stern ferocious disposition, which had rendered so many of his predecessors the objects of dread and abhorrence to mankind. Humanity, beneficence, and justice, were the leading traits of his character; and he seemed a new graft upon the Ottoman stock. He had received his education in the seraglio at Scutari, near the capital, where, besides the learning common to his country and religion, in the Turkish, Arabic, and Greek, he had been early initiated in the sciences and languages of several of the countries of Christendom; he spoke the Italian, Spanish, and French languages with tolerable fluency, but read and understood them all perfectly. This facility of conversation, undoubtedly contributed to render him so fond as he was of the company of intelligent Europeans; a gratification which seemed to form one of his most pleasing amusements. He read much, but gave a decided preference to history and politics, beyond all other studies. Though scrupulously exact in his observance of all the Mussulman religious rites and duties, yet he was suspected of being a Free-

thinker; which perhaps proceeded from his never having been known to condemn, or to treat with ridicule or contempt, the religious rites or opinions of any of the various sects, whether Christian or other, which were spread through the wide circuit of his dominions. On the contrary, he appeared the common father of them all, not only protecting them, as far as his intelligence could reach, from the oppression of the Turks, but becoming himself occasionally the composer of their religious feuds, and the mild restrainer of their violence.

With respect to government, he saw perfectly, and deeply lamented, the incorrigible vices and abuses which prevailed in every part of the empire, and which were so closely entwined in the constitution itself, as not to afford a hope of his being able to eradicate, or even to reform them in any effectual degree. He abhorred the janizaries, as an ill-governed, turbulent, and most dangerous body. Their entire dissolution, and the establishment of the military force of the empire upon European principles, were the great objects of his wishes through the course of his reign; and if it had not been his ill-fortune to have lived in '*evil days*,' and in a bad neighbourhood, he might possibly have gone greater lengths towards their attainment than may be now easily imagined. He was fond of peace, because it suited his views, in training his subjects to the pursuit of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, as the means to render them rich and happy, and to which he gave them every encouragement. But he sufficiently shewed that he was not afraid of war, when necessity required that fatal decision.

We have the testimony of the celebrated count de Vergennes, late prime minister of France, and formerly ambassador at the Porte (who can be considered as no incompetent judge) that Abdul Hamet was one of the finest gentlemen he had ever seen. Europeans were astonished when they heard him discourse with intimate knowledge, of the state of the arts, of the amusements, and of the parties in their respective countries; when they heard him talk like a connoisseur of the music, operas, and
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of Italy, of the French and English theatres; and still more, when he stated the political views and interests of the greater nations, and talked familiarly of the French intrigues in England and Holland, and of the factions which they formed or nursed in those countries. His favourite and happiest parties were formed with the Christian ministers at the Porte; and of these, the marquis de Choiseul Gouffier, and sir Robert Ainslie, the French and English ambassadors, seemed to hold the first place in favour. In these private parties, all assumption of state and dignity was laid aside; a perfect equality appeared, and the most unreserved freedom of conversation took place. He was fond of wine, and was said, upon these occasions, sometimes to indulge it to excess. It was in these moments of hilarity that he laughingly said, "if he were to become an infidel, he should assuredly embrace the Roman Catholic communion, for that all the best European wines grew in their countries; and indeed, that he had never heard of a good Protestant wine."— Upon the whole, Abdul Hamet, the morning before his death, might have been safely classed among the best sovereigns then existing.

His successor Selim, of whom great hopes seemed to have been formed, as if destined to restore the fortune and greatness of the empire, soon shewed himself equally unworthy of the education which he received, and of the inviolable integrity which his uncle had displayed in his favour. The opening of his reign was sullied by avarice and rapacity, and his throne deeply stained by cruelty and blood. The wealth of the grand vizir Jusuf Pacha, which was estimated at about a million sterling, pointed him out as one of the first objects for the gratification of these sordid and inhuman passions. Instead of accepting his wealth as the price of his life, his blood was doomed to be sacrificed to his treasure.

This great minister and general was seized at the head of the grand army at Ruscchiouk, and being conveyed prisoner to Constantinople, was sentenced to banishment, and to the forfeiture of his treasures; but this punish-

ment being, upon reflection, thought too mild, he was murdered on the way to the place of his exile, and his head being brought back in triumph, was hung up to ornament the gates or walls of the seraglio. Confiscations and executions were now become fashionable, and their terror was lessened by their frequency; while distance or obscurity could only afford protection against the rapacity and cruelty of the new sultan. The violent spirit of caprice and innovation with which he was possessed, was still, perhaps, more ruinous to the empire, than even this vile system of government. He seemed acting the part of Rehoboam. Every thing his uncle or the late grand vizir had done or established was altered or overthrown, and, excepting the captain, pacha, or grand admiral, every man was dispossessed of his office who was qualified to hold it.

The consequences might have been easily foretold, for they could scarcely have been other than what they actually were. Fortune totally abandoned the Turkish standard. The troops lost their accustomed confidence and valour, and, along with zeal and hope, the spirit of enterprize had fled from the commanders. It accordingly happened, that from the time the causes which produced this fatal change had taken full effect, dismay, defeat, disgrace, and ruin, were the constant concomitants of the Ottoman armies; until, through a long series of losses and miscarriages, and a continual failure of all their hopes and designs, the empire was reduced to so abject and deplorable a state, as to owe its existence, in any form, to the intervention of those European powers, who were interested in preventing its total downfall.

The basha of Widin was appointed grand vizir, and only served in that station to shew, how totally unqualified he was to supply the place of his illustrious though unfortunate predecessor, and the egregious want of wisdom that operated in the change. The whole scheme of the campaign, as it had been formed by the late sovereign and his general, was now, like every thing else, entirely changed; and in particular it was designed, upon the

the new system, to conduct the war offensively against Russia, and defensively with the emperor.

In despite of the severity of the season, some small but severe actions had taken place in the course of the winter in Moldavia, between the Russians and Turks, where though the former were generally successful, the latter by no means shewed any want of that vigour and resolution which they had displayed in the preceding campaign. A petty war of the same nature was carried on in the Budziack, and the borders of Bender, between the Russians and Tartars. In one of these actions, the death of the young Tartar sultan, eldest son of the khan, who lay on the field covered by a heap of his friends, who perished bravely in his defence, and in endeavouring to save his body from insult, afforded an opportunity to general Kamenskoi, to distinguish himself by an act of humanity which did him more honour than the victory.

He had the body carefully sought out, and all those relics which could serve to confirm its identity recovered from the rapacity of the soldiers, and sent by a deputation of the neighbouring Greek priests to the unhappy father, accompanied with a letter of condolence, tenderly commiserating his situation, declaring the deepness of his own regret for the misfortune, and lamenting the calamities of war, with that fatal insanity, which thus compelled brave men to be the destroyers of each other. The khan's letter of acknowledgment in answer may be considered as a model in miniature, of natural, pathetic, and unaffected eloquence. The tender but dignified sensations of gratitude in which he acknowledges his obligations to the Russian general, the religious piety and philosophy, with which, though evidently struck to the heart, he endeavoured to console his grief, by a due submission to the will of heaven, and a reflection on the uncertainty of human condition, as well as on the fatal events of war, render it truly affecting, and pleasingly melancholy. It may be thought remarkable that the Tartar prince seeks no relief in the usual Greek and Roman consolation, that his son had died bravely: it seems as if that circumstance was too much

much a matter of course, either to excite observation, or to afford solace; we see the man and the father naked and confessed, without the assumption of an unnatural firmness, or the artificial disguise of vanity.

Upon the expiration of the armistice between the Austrians and the Turks, a petty, but severe and destructive war, was commenced, and conducted with great animosity on both sides, all along the frontiers, both on the side of Transylvania and of the Danube. In all these quarters the Turks shewed great vigour at the opening of the campaign.

The empress of Russia, fully sensible of the value of those great events which hung upon the taking of Ocza-kow, exceeded even her own usual magnificence in the rewards which she bestowed upon the fortunate conquerors. Prince Potemkin, besides a letter of thanks, and the honour of having medals struck to eternize his glory, received a staff of command, entwined with laurel, richly ornamented with diamonds, and a present in money of a hundred thousand roubles. The generals, prince Repnin and Suwarrow, received magnificent gold-hilted swords, richly set with diamonds, and the latter a gorgeous plume of brilliants to wear in his hat. Estates, lots of peasants, and sums of money, were distributed to the other commanders; gold-hilted swords were showered upon the other officers down to the rank of lieutenant-colonel and major; the widow of an artillery colonel, who was slain in the attack, was, with her children, consoled by a good estate; promotion was extended to officers of a lower order, and even the non-commissioned subalterns, and common soldiers who were concerned in that affair, were ornamented with silver medals.

Neither the disappointment which the empress had experienced in the preceding year, in not being able to send a fleet to the Mediterranean, nor even the probable continuance of the war with Sweden, had been sufficient to induce that base but enterprising woman entirely to relinquish her designs upon Egypt. The baron de Thorus, formerly Russian consul at Alexandria, who had been deeply engaged in the rebellion of the turbulent Beys, and

and in the desolation which consequently overspread that rich and fertile country, before the expedition of the grand admiral had reduced them to some degree of reason and order, was, in the latter part of the preceding year, sent secretly thither again, in order to excite new commotions. For this purpose he was furnished with ample powers for concluding a permanent treaty with the two most powerful and ruling beys; insuring to them the sovereignty of the country in perpetuity, upon condition that they entirely threw off the Ottoman yoke, and placed themselves under the protection of the empress, whose fleets and armies would be ready effectually to support them.

The baron, thus provided, having landed secretly at Alexandria, and proceeded with the same caution up the Nile, presented himself to his old acquaintance, Ismael Bey, in his camp, for he was one of the great beys to whom his commission was directed, and commanded the army in Lower Egypt. But this man, most unfortunately for the baron, had totally changed his political principles, or at least his disposition with respect to the Russians; he accordingly sent the envoy bound, with his credentials and papers, under a strong guard to the Turkish basha at Grand Cairo, who committed him to a close imprisonment in that castle. We are not acquainted with the subsequent fate of the baron.

While fortune seemed yet wavering in the small frontier war between the Austrians and Turks, and that the Bosniacs (appertaining to the latter, but fighting for themselves) displayed acts of the most desperate and ferocious valour, the Russians carried every thing before them in Moldavia; the Ottoman genius and courage seeming to sink so entirely in the face of that enemy, that their troops did not seem to bear the same character with those who were otherwise engaged. Habitual ill success, predestinarian principles, superstition, and the terror excited by the slaughter at Oczakow, struck officers and men with such a panic, that they expected nothing but defeat, and were already beaten in idea, before a blow was given. While causes in every thing directly opposite,

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much a matter of course, either to excite observation, or to afford solace; we see the man and the father naked and confessed, without the assumption of an unnatural firmness, or the artificial disguise of vanity.

Upon the expiration of the armistice between the Austrians and the Turks, a petty, but severe and destructive war, was commenced, and conducted with great animosity on both sides, all along the frontiers, both on the side of Transylvania and of the Danube. In all these quarters the Turks shewed great vigour at the opening of the campaign.

The empress of Russia, fully sensible of the value of those great events which hung upon the taking of Oczakow, exceeded even her own usual magnificence in the rewards which she bestowed upon the fortunate conquerors. Prince Potemkin, besides a letter of thanks, and the honour of having medals struck to eternize his glory, received a staff of command, entwined with laurel, richly ornamented with diamonds, and a present in money of a hundred thousand roubles. The generals, prince Repnin and Suwarrow, received magnificent gold-hilted swords, richly set with diamonds, and the latter a gorgeous plume of brilliants to wear in his hat. Estates, lots of peasants, and sums of money, were distributed to the other commanders; gold-hilted swords were showered upon the other officers down to the rank of lieutenant-colonel and major; the widow of an artillery colonel, who was slain in the attack, was, with her children, consoled by a good estate; promotion was extended to officers of a lower order, and even the non-commissioned subalterns, and common soldiers who were concerned in that affair, were ornamented with silver medals.

Neither the disappointment which the empress had experienced in the preceding year, in not being able to send a fleet to the Mediterranean, nor even the probable continuance of the war with Sweden, had been sufficient to induce that base but enterprising woman entirely to relinquish her designs upon Egypt. The baron de Thorus, formerly Russian consul at Alexandria, who had been deeply engaged in the rebellion of the turbulent Beys, and

and in the desolation which consequently overspread that rich and fertile country, before the expedition of the grand admiral had reduced them to some degree of reason and order, was, in the latter part of the preceding year, sent secretly thither again, in order to excite new commotions. For this purpose he was furnished with ample powers for concluding a permanent treaty with the two most powerful and ruling beys; insuring to them the sovereignty of the country in perpetuity, upon condition that they entirely threw off the Ottoman yoke, and placed themselves under the protection of the empress, whose fleets and armies would be ready effectually to support them.

The baron, thus provided, having landed secretly at Alexandria, and proceeded with the same caution up the Nile, presented himself to his old acquaintance, Ismael Bey, in his camp, for he was one of the great beys to whom his commission was directed, and commanded the army in Lower Egypt. But this man, most unfortunately for the baron, had totally changed his political principles, or at least his disposition with respect to the Russians; he accordingly sent the envoy bound, with his credentials and papers, under a strong guard to the Turkish basha at Grand Cairo, who committed him to a close imprisonment in that castle. We are not acquainted with the subsequent fate of the baron.

While fortune seemed yet wavering in the small frontier war between the Austrians and Turks, and that the Bosniacs (appertaining to the latter, but fighting for themselves) displayed acts of the most desperate and ferocious valour, the Russians carried every thing before them in Moldavia; the Ottoman genius and courage seeming to sink so entirely in the face of that enemy, that their troops did not seem to bear the same character with those who were otherwise engaged. Habitual ill success, predestinarian principles, superstition, and the terror excited by the slaughter at Oczakow, struck officers and men with such a panic, that they expected nothing but defeat, and were already beaten in idea, before a blow was given. While causes in every thing directly opposite,

site, operating with no less force on the other side, the Russian advanced upon his enemy in all the pride and security of assured triumph and easy victory.

In the last days of April, general Dorfelden gained a considerable victory over a body of Turks on the banks of the river Sereth, where several hundreds were killed, many driven into the river and drowned, and along with the loss of their artillery, the basha who commanded, with several of his principal officers, and a number of soldiers, were made prisoners. The principal Turkish force in the province was posted in a strongly fortified camp near Galatz, and this success encouraged Dorfelden to march immediately to their attack. On the first of May, after an action of three hours, the camp was stormed in different quarters, and nothing but rout, terror, and slaughter ensued. About 1,500 Turks were killed; a basha of three tails who commanded, with several inferior bashas, an unusual number of officers, and above a thousand soldiers, had the fortune to escape the sabre, and to become prisoners. The camp with its artillery, magazines, stores, trophies, and whatever else it contained, became a prey to the victors.

The war raged on the borders of Transylvania, between the Turks and Austrians, through the month of April, the climate there admitting of early service; the latter were satisfied to act on the defensive in that quarter, where their posts and passes in the mountains were too strong to admit of the enemy making any great progress. The Turks had their views still upon the Bannat, into which they made an irruption pretty early in the season, which was deemed so serious, that we find marshal Haddick with the grand army encamped at Weiskirchen towards the middle of the summer. Nothing of consequence was, however, done on either side in that province: and it had been so entirely ruined in the preceding year, that it could not suffer much in the present.

In the mean time marshal Laudohn, with the executive army, was on the side of Croatia, making the necessary preparations for the siege of Turkish Gradisca, which had so manfully and repeatedly withstood the Austrian

florian attacks in the past year, and was now expected to make a very vigorous, if not long defence. Having brought forward (June 20,) a prodigious artillery, both of mortars and battering cannon, and without waiting to break ground or to inclose the fortress, he commenced his operations with a most violent cannonade and bombardment. This, however, which could only have been done with a view to dispirit the garrison and to shatter the houses, produced an effect which the marshall had little reason to expect; for on the morning of the second day's bombardment, the Turks evacuated the fortress, on the side that was open towards the mountains, and marched off with their baggage in good order, without interruption, the conquerors seeming too well satisfied with their cheap success, to attempt disturbing their retreat.

It is difficult to determine the motive, or to account for the principle, which could have induced the new grand vizir, or whoever conducted the war under him in that quarter, to have given up this fortress so easily. Besides its strength, the garrison had been trained up in a successful course of defence, and were in the habit of baffling their enemy. Laudohn himself, notwithstanding the rapid success of his arms in taking other places, had been foiled before this in the preceding year, the winter having obliged him to abandon it after a siege of considerable length. But it was otherwise a place of the utmost importance. For it might be considered as the great and principal outwork of Belgrade; it being the only fortress now left, which could have rendered the siege of that place difficult, if not impracticable; and the whole time spent before the former would have been so much gained to the security of the latter; for if the siege of Belgrade had been procrastinated to a certain season, the rivers would have fought in defence of the town upon the approach of winter. This was so well understood by marshal Laudohn, that as soon as he had taken possession of Gradisca (by the Turks called Berbir) he immediately commenced, with the utmost assiduity, his preparations for the siege of Belgrade.

The

The prince of Saxe Cobourg had the fortune of retrieving the honour of the Austrian arms, by obtaining the first victory of any moment which they had gained in the course of the present war. A Turkish serasquier at the head of an army of 30,000 being encamped near Focksan in Wallachia, which town he had fortified, and formed great magazines in it, the prince of Cobourg, with a much inferior force, attacked him in his camp, and gained a most complete victory. The serasquier himself, with a number of his principal officers, were taken prisoners, above 5,000 of his men killed or taken, the whole army dispersed and ruined, while the artillery and spoils of the camp, with the town of Focksan, and all its magazines, fell into the hands of the victors. It was so new a spectacle at Vienna to behold any marks of success or triumph arising from this hitherto unfortunate war, that the arrival of the express upon this occasion, preceded by a number of horns, and displaying a few of the most portable trophies of victory, diffused an excess of joy beyond all description among the inhabitants; and if the unfortunate emperor's state of health had not been too deplorable to admit relief, it is not to be doubted but this, along with the succeeding fortunate events which were soon to take place, might have contributed much to his recovery.

The grand vizir, who, among his other vain-glorious assumptions, had boldly pledged himself for the recovery of Oczakow, made many preparations and movements which indicated a design of endeavouring to fulfil his promise; but a dreadful scarcity of provisions which sorely distressed his army, along with the watchful eye of the Russians upon all his motions, and, above all, the torrent of ill fortune which now began to overwhelm him from every quarter, not only erased all traces of that design, but soon convinced him that even the preservation of Bender was not within the compass of his power or fortune.

General Kamenskoi, who commanded the Russian forces in Bessarabia, had posted them in such a manner through

through the winter, as, without forming a regular blockade, greatly to incommode the garrison of Bender, by cutting off their communications and intercepting their supplies. This being not only continued, but in the fine weather of summer, the garrison was reduced to great distress, and its relief became a matter of necessity. The prince of Anhalt Bernbourg, who had gained great renown at the taking of Oczakow, and now commanded a detachment of Kamenskoi's army, derived an opportunity, from this state of things, of adding new laurels to the former. He had the fortune, near Causchan, on the Niester, to fall in with a serasquier, at the head of seven or eight thousand spahis, or Turkish cavalry, who were conducting relief to the garrison of Bender. Though the prince was inferior in force, he instantly attacked the Turks, and seems to have had no great difficulty in totally routing and dispersing them, their convoy, and every thing they possessed, falling into his hands, and the serasquier himself being made prisoner.

But defeats were now become so common with the Ottomans, as to afford no matter of surprise either to themselves or others. As none of the contending parties are in the habit of giving any precise detail of their military movements or transactions, we can only acquire a knowledge of events of some notoriety as they occurred, without any information as to the previous steps, causes, or motives which led to them. Thus, in the present instance, we find the grand vizir, not long after the battle of Fockian, with his whole army, in the heart of Wallachia, without any account how or where he passed the Danube.

In whatever manner he entered that province, this enterprise proved fatal to his army, and nearly so to the Ottoman empire. The combined forces of Austria and Russia, under the prince of Cobourg and general Suwarow, estimated only at about 30,000 men, had the hardihood to attack the grand Turkish army, September 22, said to consist of between ninety and a hundred thousand, near Martinetti, where they gained, with little difficulty or loss, one of the most signal and extraordinary victories known

in modern times. We have no particulars of the mode of attack, of the nature of the ground, nor any of the circumstances that led to this cheap victory. Nothing is related but the rout, slaughter, pursuit and dispersion of the grand Turkish army, as if these had been matters of course, and the inevitable consequences of their meeting.

About 5,000 Turks were killed on the spot, and about 2,000 in the pursuit; and nothing but the blunted swords, the wearied arms, and the tired horses of the pursuers, could have checked the slaughter. Few or no prisoners were made, the rage and indignation of the Turks being excited in such a degree by the shamefulnefs of their defeat, (which, as usual, they attributed to their general) that they disdained to accept of quarter. The whole camp as it stood, including the grand vizir's tents and equipage, became a prey to the victors. 300 camels, 400 oxen, 5,000 loaded waggons, 8,000 tents, 6 mortars, 17 pieces of heavy cannon, 64 field pieces, near 100 standards, with a prodigious quantity of ammunition and stores, were among the spoils and trophies of victory. A few hundred men in killed and wounded, was the whole loss of the victors.

The fugitives having crossed the little river Rîmini, continued their flight, without intermission, towards the borders of the Danube, which they passed as they could, with the utmost precipitation, rending the air with exclamations and curses against their general. The grand vizir had the ill fortune to escape; he was destined, besides the loss of his head, which at the end of the campaign was the close of his military career, deservedly to endure the taunts, scoffs, and reproaches of the populace, which he incurred by his stupid arrogance and blind contempt of his warlike enemies, in causing an immense quantity of iron chains to be made, when he took the command of the army, in order to manacle the Legions of Austrian and Russian prisoners, whom he vainly expected to drive before him Constantinople as monuments of his triumph. He was evidently a headstrong, ignorant man, destitute of every quality necessary for a general, excepting those merely of enterprise and courage; and it
seemed

seemed as if nothing less than the ill fortune incident to a falling empire, could have induced the choice of such a supporter for the tottering fabric.

This great and splendid victory raised the prince of Saxe Cobourg to the pinnacle of military renown, and the emperor, along with other marks of his favour and gratitude, promoted him immediately to the rank of field marshal. The empress of Russia likewise considered this victory of such great importance with respect to her views upon Bender, that, along with great compliment and praise, she, in her usual magnificence, presented the prince with a magnificent gold snuff box, so richly ornamented with diamonds, as to be valued at 16,000 roubles.

We have before seen that marshal Laudohn had early commenced his preparations for the siege of Belgrade, and these were carried to an extent, and occasioned a waste of time, which, if we may be allowed to form any opinion from the event, neither the magnitude nor difficulty of the service rendered necessary. In particular, a fleet of armed vessels was formed on the Danube for that purpose, which was, indeed, practised in former sieges; but in those days the enemy had an equal force on the river; so that the naval contests on the Danube emulated those of other nations on the ocean. But in the present instance, it does not appear that the Turks had any force on the river. Custom and precedent are, however, matters of consideration in all German transactions, and a general being under the control, in a considerable degree, of the council of war at Vienna, finds it necessary to comply with established forms, even where they militate with his own opinion.

On the 12th of September, the several divisions of Laudohn's army united, without opposition, at the heights of Dedina, near Belgrade, where they encamped, having a full command of the old lines of circumvallation constructed by prince Eugene in the celebrated siege of 1717: a circumstance which could not but greatly facilitate their operations; as these lines, from whatever cause or negligence it proceeded, had in no degree been sufficiently erased.

We do not find that the besiegers met with any great interruption from the garrison in their approaches, so that the trenches were speedily opened, and batteries constructed on the side of the heights, where marshal Laudohn commanded, against the upper town, and by the prince de Ligne, on the borders of the Saave, opposite to Semlin, against the lower. The fatal defeat which the Turks received at Martineſti, on the 22d, could not but produce its effect on the spirit and hope both of the besieged and besiegers. It was possibly a sense of its operation which induced M. Laudohn, after a terrible cannonade and bombardment, to assault at the same time, early on the morning of the last day of the month, all the suburbs and outworks of the place, which were all carried sword in hand.

The body of the place being thus left naked, and all relief hopeless, it could not be expected to hold out long, and the Turkish governor accordingly, in about a week, October 8, listened to a capitulation. By this time the Austrians had nearly filled up the ditch with fascines, had chased the besieged out of the covered way, had advanced their batteries within 150 yards of the body of the place, had destroyed the best houses in the town, and among the rest the governor's palace, by their shells and red-hot balls; to complete the impossibility of farther defence, their prodigious artillery, with the weight and nearness of their unintermitting fire, had dismantled most of the cannon upon the works, at the same time that they had mines ready to spring under two principal bastions and a ravelin, which would have laid the place entirely open.

In this state of things, Osman Pacha, the governor, requested an armistice for 16 days; a compliance with which it was not possible he could have seriously expected. This being peremptorily refused, and only a few hours allowed for drawing up and signing the capitulation, the governor was obliged to submit to the necessity of his situation. Laudohn, upon this occasion, as upon all others, acted the part of a man of honour. Satisfied with the important and great conquest he had made, and the glory he acquired, he disdained to oppress the
unfortunate,

unfortunate, or to trample upon the fallen. This was the more praise-worthy, as the obstinacy with which the governor rejected all his proposals, even after the outworks and suburbs were taken, would, in the opinion of other commanders, have warranted no small severity of treatment. Yet, notwithstanding, he was satisfied with giving the governor a gentle rebuke for his contumacy, at the same time that he granted the most favourable and honourable conditions. The garrison and inhabitants were secured in all their property and effects of every sort; and even the merchants, who had stocks of provisions on their hands, were allowed to sell them at the best price they could get; and, to prevent all imposition and fraud, the marshal himself desired, that four Turkish commissaries should be left behind to manage the sales. The garrison, with their ~~women~~, families and effects, were to be conveyed, in the best manner, by water to Orsova, under the care of an Austrian escort, for whose good conduct and behaviour the marshal rendered himself answerable. The inhabitants, of all religions, with their effects, were to be conveyed in the same manner; and full security was granted to all, for any property which they had not time or opportunity to dispose of before their departure. There was a special article, that the Jews and Christians of Servia should be treated with every degree of indulgence in their conveyance. It is singular, that the usual honours of war are not mentioned on either side.—About 300 pieces of heavy artillery, with an immense quantity of stores and ammunition, were found in the place.

It seemed as if the emperor, who considered himself as so little a favourite to fortune in the fore part of his life, that he once, in a fit of vexation, recommended the following inscription as the proper one for his monument: "Here lies ———, who never succeeded in any of his undertakings," was now destined, near its close, to be overwhelmed with her favours. He had scarcely time to ruminate upon and enjoy the glad tidings of the great victory at Martinesti, when general Klebeck, in the habit of a courier, and preceded by 24 postilions sounding their horns, arrived with the more interesting and important

news of the taking of Belgrade. The sick and exhausted monarch quitted his bed to receive the joyful news. The former ill success, had prepared the people for the most extravagant joy on this extraordinary reverse of fortune. All the evils of the war, and all the distresses of the people through taxation and military conscription, were at once forgotten, and the rejoicings now at Vienna had not probably been exceeded, since the famous John Sobieski had saved that capital from the Turks in the year 1683. The emperor sent his own diamond star, of the order of Maria Theresa, to marshal Laudohn; an honour the more distinguished, as he had hitherto admitted of no companions, excepting the princes of his own family, in that order.

Even the emperor's health seemed to derive some benefit from the present tide of good fortune; though his constitution was too far gone to admit of a permanent restoration. The evil habit of his body had added to his primary disorders, of a pulmonary consumption, with a slow fever, which terminated finally in a hectic, that most painful cause of complaint, a fistula; for which he had been obliged to undergo, besides an excessive loss of blood, more than one manual operation. He appeared now, however, to approach so far towards a recovery, that he dismissed, with the most liberal and princely rewards, an eminent physician, and a surgeon of the same rank, who it had been thought necessary to call in to the assistance of his usual medical attendants. It happened unfortunately, that this gleam of hope was transient and illusive.

It was about the time that Belgrade was taken, that the grand admiral Hassan Pacha, thinking, perhaps, that the singular good fortune which had attended him through life might still continue, and enable him to resist that torrent of ruin which was overwhelming the empire, thought fit to quit the command of the fleet in the Black Sea, (where some indecisive actions only had taken place during the present season) and to endeavour to save Bender, by taking the command of the army in Bessarabia, and committing every thing to the dangerous decision of a battle with the grand Russian army,

army, under the princes Potemkin and Repnin, trained up, as it was, in a constant course of conquest and victory.

The hostile armies met at Tobak, in Bessarabia, not far from Bender, where the Turks seemed, under the auspices of Hassan Bey, to have recovered their former confidence and courage. But the grand admiral's fortune was now to desert him; and, after a hard fought battle, for several hours obstinately maintained, his army was totally defeated, with the loss of several thousand men, and of the greater part, if not the whole, of their artillery. We have had various opportunities of seeing, that one of the most fatal as well as the most common consequences of the Turkish deficiency in discipline and tactics is, that they are incapable of drawing an army off from a field in the face of the enemy, or of conducting a retreat properly; so that their battles admitting of no medium, absolute victory or total defeat are the only alternatives. This battle decided the fate of Bender; before which prince Potemkin immediately sat down; but notwithstanding the long distress it had already undergone, it was not surrendered until the middle of November.

Every thing now, either fell before or fled from the arms of the combined powers, and it seemed as if nothing less than the winter could have prevented the subversion of the Ottoman empire, at least in Europe; its existence afterwards must have been short indeed! The Turks were now so sunk and dispirited, that they could no longer bear the sight of their enemy, and any small Austrian or Russian detachment was sufficient to disperse any number of those that attempted to form a body. The Asiatics, struck with horror at the idea of being compelled to endure an European winter, could not be retained any longer, by entreaty or force, but marched off, without leave or notice, in great bodies to the Hellespont. And while the Porte was thus overborne on the side of Europe, her ancient and implacable enemies, the Persians, hoping to profit by her present distress, seemed for a time to forget those mutual animosities which seemed incurable, and began to direct those swords, which had for so many years been drenched in civil blood,

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blood, against her eastern frontiers. To render her situation still more deplorable, and even hopeless, anarchy and insurrection prevailed in several of the best provinces of the empire.

The Russians pursued their conquests to the Black Sea, where the strong port town of Bialogrod, more generally known of late years by the Turkish name of Ackirman, situated at the mouth of the Neister, fell without much difficulty into their hands; such being the present state of hopelessness and disorder, that the garrison was not competent to its defence. Kyla Nova, another fortress, lying on the northern mouth of the Danube, and which in better times would have been deemed a conquest of difficulty, became now likewise an easy prey.

The Austrians were likewise carrying every thing before them: Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia, the strong fortress of Czernitz, with the greatest part of that fine province, notwithstanding the unconquerable spirit and indefatigable exertions of prince Maurojeni, (who of all their christian subjects was distinguished for never swerving from his faith and loyalty to the Ottomans) fell into their hands. On the side of Servia they were no less successful; having taken Cladova, the places of less strength and consequence surrendered without opposition, and they overrun the province to the walls of Orsova. There, however, their progress was stayed, by the virtue and unexpected firmness of the garrison; who, at a time when all hearts were sunk in dismay and terror under the present torrent of misfortune, boldly rose to oppose the danger, and, disdaining to listen to any terms of accommodation, prepared for the most obstinate defence.

The siege of Orsova was commenced with all the expedition, and the operations conducted with all the vigour, which a sense of the lateness of the season, and strong resentment for the confident presumption of the garrison, could possibly induce. A terrible bombardment, with showers of red-hot balls, and all the other modern methods of accelerating the destruction of fortresses, were accordingly recurred to with unceasing violence. But the
minds

minds of the besieged were not easily subdued; and they covered and maintained their works with such desperate valour, that the impression made on them bore no proportion to the fury with which they were assaulted. By this means the progress of the Austrians was protracted, until the severity of the winter, operating as a powerful auxiliary, compelled them to raise the siege; and afforded that meed of honour to the garrison which their unequalled bravery so highly merited. This disappointment was the more felt, as it was well known in the army, that the emperor was bent particularly upon the taking of Orsova, and could not at all regard the success of the campaign, great as it was, complete without.

It is but justice to Selim (whose conduct upon his accession, we reprehended with not more severity than justice) to acknowledge, that he bore this unexampled torrent of ill fortune with the greatest constancy and firmness, and that, instead of sinking in despondency, or of persevering in a vain reliance on his native powers, he had judgment enough to perceive that they were totally incapable of preserving the empire, and spirit enough to seek for other resources wherever they could be found. With this view he resumed the policy of his uncle, and looked to Europe as the only quarter which could afford a counterpoise to the exorbitant power and ambition of the two domineering empires. Sweden had already done all that she could, and more than she could bear; but the disproportion of force was so vast, that while she ruined herself in the attempt, the effect which it produced in the operations of Russia against the Porte were scarcely perceptible. Other alliances were then to be sought, and, as France was now out of the question, the king of Prussia, and the maritime powers, were the only objects of hope; and indeed the only European states who were capable of interfering with effect in checking the progress of the combined empires. He accordingly laid himself out with the greatest assiduity to cultivate the friendship of these three powers, and to enter into the closest possible alliance and connection with them; thus resting his hope of preventing the downfall of the Crescent, and the overthrow

throw of Mahometanism, upon christian assistance, instead of the aid of his prophet.

We shall now turn our eyes towards France, which was become the theatre upon which the most surprising scenes continually succeeded each other, which served at once to alarm and instruct the inhabitants of every nation in Europe. In the last chapter, the account of the Gallic revolution was concluded, with a detail of the circumstances attending the taking of that ancient temple of despotism, the Bastille, and of the conciliatory speech which the king made to the national assembly at Versailles, on the 15th of July, 1789.

The dukes of Rochefoucault and Liancourt, M. Clermont-Jonnerre, Lally-Tolendal and others, amounting to eighty-four in number, were deputed by the assembly to make known to the metropolis the agreeable intelligence of the monarch's amicable and complying speech. M. de Lally addressed the committee in the Hotel de Ville in these words. "Your good king," said he "has been deluded by calumny; suspicions were instilled into his mind of that nation which he has the honour and happiness of governing: but we have unveiled the truth before his eyes; he is sensible of having been deceived; he has thrown himself into the arms of your national assembly; he puts his trust in them, or rather in you, and will henceforth be guided by their counsels, that is, by yours."

From the Hotel de Ville the deputies were conducted to the church of Notre-Dame, where Te Deum was performed, in gratitude to the Supreme Being for the happy agreement between the king and the national representatives, and for the public prosperity which was expected to be the consequence.

The manifestations of joy were so universal, and their expressions of attachment to the king so warm, that a stranger who had entered Paris at that time would have thought it the most loyal town in Europe.

There is every reason to believe, that MM. Cazales, Mounier, Malouet, as well as the members of this deputation, and others, had no other view in assisting in the revolution than that of establishing monarchy on the basis

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of freedom, as the happiest government for their country. Such men, of course, must have felt satisfaction in observing the indications of returning royalty in the people; but there existed in the assembly and in the municipality of Paris, men, at this time of no note, but who afterwards acted important parts, who viewed with an evil eye every indication of the nature above alluded to; because they feared that a return of confidence in the king would tend to the diminishing, perhaps the annihilation, of their own rising importance. The immense influence of the capital with the assembly probably first became apparent to them at this time, and was the ground work of the structure of ambition they afterwards built. Those men, therefore, were active in sowing new seeds of suspicion in the minds of the people; they whispered that, notwithstanding the king's fair professions, fresh troops were on their march to Paris; and they fabricated a story, that an attempt had been made to seize again upon the Bastille for the use of the king. Whatever were the designs of these men, the only effect was to excite the people to clamour for the recal of M. Necker, and a deputation was sent on the 16th of July from Paris to Versailles, the object of which was, that the assembly should insist on the dismissal of the present ministers and the recal of M. Necker.

A motion was made accordingly to that effect. In the debate which this occasioned, M. Mounier gave it as his opinion, that the national assembly ought not to interfere in such appointments of the executive power, and produced the example of Great Britain, which he asserted had never interfered in the choice of the king's ministers, without the most ruinous consequences.

It was carried, that an address should be presented to the king, expressive of the wishes of the assembly, that he would dismiss his present ministers. This was rendered superfluous, by the resignation of the new ministers; and it was announced to the assembly at the same time, that the king had written to M. Necker, inviting him to return.

The same deputation from the electors of Paris to the national assembly at Versailles, which had brought the request of the former to address the king on those subjects, conveyed

conveyed also their opinion, that a personal visit of the king to his faithful subjects in the capital would be highly acceptable, and perhaps the most expedient step he could possibly take in the present circumstances. This was no part of their public mission, but insinuated to the deputies as their private sentiments, founded on the suspicions which still remained on the minds of the citizens of intended massacres, and which this mark of confidence from their monarch would tend to efface.

When this was mentioned to the king, he resolved upon the measure, notwithstanding the consternation which it spread over his family, and the apprehensions which he himself entertained for his own life. The news of this resolution was sent to Paris in the middle of the night.

The king left Versailles on the morning of the 17th of July, with only one carriage besides that in which he was himself. He was attended by the dukes of Villeroy and Vilquier, the marshal Beauveau, the count d'Estaing, and one or two other persons of the court. The militia of Versailles accompanied the carriages to Séve, where they were met by M. La Fayette, at the head of a large body of national guards; a party of cavalry headed the procession from Séve, followed by the French guards with their cannon; a deputation of the national assembly in their robes also attended, and were followed by the parisian national guards. The procession was slow, and to the king would be the more gloomy, that he no more heard the ancient cry of *Vive le roi!* whereas that of *Vive la nation* was incessantly exclaimed from all sides. That this did not happen by accident was evident; for men were heard admonishing the people, *Ne criez pas vive le roi.* There are many reasons for believing that the king's journey to Paris and his reception there were planned by a few who had influence in the committee at Paris as well as in the assembly, with a view to strike him with terror, and bend his spirit to an acquiescence in their future projects. It is not therefore surprising that he looked pale, melancholy, and with disquietude. He was met at the barrier by the mayor, who presenting him with the keys of the city, informed him that they were the very identical

tical keys which had been presented to Henry IV. observing at the same time, in language more quaint than flattering, that Henry had *re-conquered* his people, whereas in the present instance the people had *re-conquered* their king. He told the king also, that this was a very glorious day for the French monarchy; and added, that it was a day which it was not likely his majesty would ever forget.—Whatever the king's thoughts were, he said nothing.

Finding himself equally embarrassed to answer all the speeches which were addressed to him on his arrival at the Hotel de Ville, his majesty observed nearly the same silence there.

Indeed it was impossible for him to assent to all that was expressed or implied in the different harangues on this occasion. In one, the truth of the bloody designs against the city of Paris, of which the court was accused, was strongly insinuated; in another,* it was proposed to raise a monument to Lewis XVI. as the overthrower of the bastille, and the restorer of liberty.

M. de Lally-Tolendal, who certainly was not of the number of those said to have planned the king's visit to Paris for the purpose above mentioned, expressed himself in language dictated equally by the spirit of loyalty and of freedom; observing, "that the king himself was desirous that the representatives of the nation should share with him his authority, as he wished to reserve in his own hands no more than was necessary for the happiness of the people, and which their interest required should always belong to the crown." And afterwards addressing the king, he said, "There is not a single person here present, who is not ready to shed, for your majesty and your legal authority, the very last drop of his blood."

Unfortunately for the French nation, as well as for the monarch, succeeding events have not confirmed what an ardent desire that it were the case prompted M. de Lally to assert.

M. Bailly, the mayor, having presented the national cockade to the king, who appeared at the window with it attached to his hat, the populace in the square shouted;—the cry of *Vive le roi!* was then heard for the first time

that day, and resounded through the streets as the king returned from the town-house to Versailles, where he was expected with fearful inquietude by the queen and all his family.

The joy which the Parisians manifested after the king appeared with the national cockade, and their behaviour when he departed from Paris, have been thus described: "the Parisians were quite intoxicated with love for the king. His coach was surrounded with citizens of all classes; some were mounted behind the coach; some before, and some on the coach box; there were even a few on the very top."

The members of the new administration, which had been so suddenly formed, sensible of the quick transitions to which the French populace are liable, and by no means certain that they would be satisfied with their resignation, resolved to withdraw from the kingdom. The count d'Artois with his family, the princes of Condé and of Conti, with many of the nobility, did the same.

M. Foulon, who in the formation of the late ministry, had been placed in the war department as an assistant to M. de Broglie, was not so fortunate as to escape out of France. Sensible of the people's prejudice against him, he kept himself concealed, and caused the report of his death to be spread abroad. He was discovered by the peasants while he was concealed at a country-house near Paris. Some of the enemies of this unhappy man had circulated a report that he had often declared, that, if he should ever be minister, he would make the people live on hay. The surest way of gaining the belief of the populace is to speak to their passions. This expression was repeated by every mouth; and it kindled the more resentment in the breasts of the rabble at this time, because many of them actually experienced hunger from the existing scarcity.

The cruelties which those peasants, and some of the populace of Paris, committed on M. Foulon and his son-in-law M. Berthier, in spite of all the efforts of the mayor of Paris and the commander of the national guards to prevent them, are shocking to humanity, and disgusting to

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narrate. Soon after their arrival at Paris they were put to death by the populace.

In the account of these excesses transmitted to the provinces, their cause was always assigned to a dreadful conspiracy against the national assembly and the national freedom, which had been carried on by the court and a part of the nobles. This account was industriously spread, and occasioned similar excesses in various provinces of France. Those of whom the municipal councils were composed, being accused of favouring the old government, new common councils were appointed in many of the towns, consisting of men supposed to be of the most patriotic principles. The peasantry rose against certain unpopular noblemen, burned their castles, obliged them to fly for their lives, and a general rage against the noblesse, seemed to spread all over the kingdom.

This proceeded, no doubt, in a considerable degree from the inferior order of people becoming more and more licentious by impunity and the hopes of pillage; but its becoming so universal, forms a strong presumption also of a sense of oppression and ill usage received by the peasants from their lords.

Among the alarms and reports to which the unsettled state of France at this time gave rise, a very formidable rumour was circulated, that the court of London was disposed to take advantage of the troubles of the nation; that the English fleets in both Indies had already commenced the attack; and that St. Domingo and Pondicherry were already among the number of their conquests. So injurious a calumny could not be overlooked by the ambassador of Great Britain. He wrote immediately to the minister, the count de Montmorin, disclaiming on the part of his court every hostile intention, and, in corroboration of his assertion, appealing to his recollection, that in the beginning of June a plot had been concerted for seizing the port of Brest, by certain persons who claimed the countenance and protection of Great Britain; but that the proposal had been rejected with indignation by the English cabinet, and that he (the duke of Dorset) had immediately apprised the French ministry of the danger.

The letter of the ambassador being read in the assembly, and communicated to the people of Paris, sufficiently quieted every apprehension concerning the interference of Great Britain; and to prevent in future the interruption of the national business, a committee of twelve members was immediately appointed to take cognizance of every report or information which respected the public safety.

The consequences of the duke of Dorset's letter, were more serious in the province of Britany. The plot which he had mentioned against Brest was immediately laid to the charge of the nobility; and the enemies of some of that body, who had shewn themselves averse to the revolution, industriously represented them to the people as the criminals. Several were arrested, and confined in the castles of Nantes and St. Malo. The nobility of the province appealed to the justice of the national assembly, and entreated that the duke of Dorset might be requested to give more precise documents, that the criminality might no longer be extended to all the ancient families of a respectable quarter of the kingdom, but might attach to those only who were really concerned. The assembly referred the investigation to the executive power; but declared at the same time their opinion, that the evidence appeared so vague and indirect, that the gentlemen ought to be liberated.

A letter from M. Neckar, in answer to the requisition of the assembly, was received on the 27th of July. It was dated Basil, and was expressive of his gratitude and devotion to their commands. Posterity will regard it as an incident more resembling the visions of romance than the occurrences of real life, that the first intimation he received of the revolution, was from the mouth of the duchess de Polignac, his bitterest enemy. M. Neckar had quitted Brussels in the determination of retiring from public life, and forgetting his disgrace and his unsuccessful labours in the peaceful retirement of his estate in the vicinity of Geneva. In his way thither, he arrived at Basil accidentally at the very moment when madame Polignac, in her precipitate flight, stopped at that city.

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We may easily conceive his surprise when an interview was requested by that lady; but it must have been still greater, when she acquainted him with the amazing revolution of which his exile had been the proximate occasion. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of his friends, he determined, without hesitation, to resume his office.—“I would rather,” said he, “expose myself to danger than to remorse.” He waited at Basil till he received the orders of the king, and then followed immediately the courier who announced his approach.

As he passed through Villenau, on the road from Nogent to Versailles, he was informed that the baron de Bezenval, commandant of the Swiss guards, who had acted under marshal Broglio, was arrested by the militia of that place, and that his life was in danger. The humanity of M. Neckar was immediately interested, and he wrote in his carriage the following short note to the municipal officers of Villenau.

“I know to a certainty, gentlemen, that the baron de Bezenval, who has been arrested by the militia of Villenau, had the king’s permission to return to Switzerland, his own country. I entreat, gentlemen, that you will respect this permission, of which I am your guarantee, and I shall consider myself as under a particular obligation. Every motive that can affect a feeling mind impels me to make this request, &c.”

Pressing as was this requisition, it was not complied with, as the municipal officers determined, that before the baron should be released, it was proper to consult the permanent committee at the Hotel de Ville.

The passage of M. Neckar through France, was more gratifying to the human feelings than the most distinguished triumph of the most celebrated conqueror. He was followed by the acclamations, not of servile multitudes, but of a free people; who saluted him not as their governor, but as their deliverer, their father, their tutelary genius. In Paris the news of his arrival was celebrated like that of a splendid victory; and the exultation visible in every countenance evinced, that every Frenchman considered the republic as in safety when

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committed to his care. On the 29th of July, the day after his return, he repaired to the national assembly, to render his respects to that august body. He was introduced by four gentlemen ushers, and every mark of attention and respect was paid to this martyr in the public cause; this minister, who taught the sovereign to respect the rights of the people, and who instructed the multitude in their duty to the throne. The president complimented him on his arrival in a very elegant address, which, in honour both of the speaker and the minister, was directed to be printed.

Even these testimonies of esteem, however, appear little when compared with the splendour of his reception in Paris: that city, which so much exceeded the rest of the kingdom in wealth, population, and magnificence, exceeded every other part in its zeal for liberty, and its joy on the restoration of its favourite minister. On the morning of the 30th, the day he had appointed for visiting the metropolis, numerous detachments of infantry and cavalry were stationed on the road to Versailles to meet him. He arrived in a coach and four, with M. St. Priest, his colleague, who had participated in his principles, and in his disgrace. At half past twelve they reached the Hotel de Ville, amidst the acclamations of thousands. M. Bailly and the marquis de la Fayette, with the representatives of the commune, received him in the great hall; where he was complimented by M. Bailly in a strain of eloquence in which dignity was happily blended with simplicity. The speech of M. Neckar, in reply, was distinguished by that pathetic sweetness of expression which marked all his compositions. He expressed his gratitude in modest terms, and informed them that the king had received him in the kindest manner, and assured him of his entire confidence. He observed, however, that the whole welfare of the state was now placed in their hands, and in those of the national assembly: from this circumstance he took occasion most earnestly to recommend the re-establishment of order and government. He entreated them, in the name of heaven, that the world should hear no more of proscriptions; no
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more of such bloody scenes as had so lately been acted. From this topic he passed to the baron de Bezenval, to whose merits, in his station, he bore honourable testimony; and entreated, in the most persuasive terms, that he might be set at liberty. He even went further, and insisted on a general amnesty, as the only measure consistent with their honour, and with the restoration of liberty. The enthusiasm of humanity communicated itself from the orator to all his auditors, and an amnesty was unanimously decreed by the general assembly of the electors of Paris.

That the assembly of electors in this instance, transgressed the powers vested in them, cannot be doubted; and unfortunately too many were interested both in the repeal of the amnesty, and in lowering the consequence of the elective body, to permit such an act to pass without animadversion. It was scarcely made known, before the sixty districts of Paris were in the most violent agitation. They exclaimed, that the electors, delegated for the sole purpose of choosing deputies to the states-general, had assumed new powers, and could only have in view the perpetuating of their own authority. They had, indeed, during the moments of popular confusion, submitted to the orders of this body, because some active and directing principle was then wanting; but the present step they considered as trenching on the authority of the national assembly, without precedent, without excuse. The enemies of the minister eagerly grasped the opportunity to lessen him in the public esteem. They insinuated, that he would sacrifice the public welfare to his own ambition; and that he wished to save the baron de Bezenval, only from a conviction that it would render him particularly agreeable to the court: that the whole of the conspirators would speedily return in triumph, insolently to brave the resentment of the nation and to vent their cruelty on the defenders of liberty. These injurious insinuations were unhappily too favourably received; the alarm-bells were sounded, the Place de Grève re-echoed with frightful menaces, even at the precise time when at the Palais Royal the return of M. Neckar was

was celebrated with concerts and illuminations. The electors alarmed, immediately issued a proclamation explanatory of their former resolution, which, they asserted, implied no assumption of judicial authority to condemn or acquit the enemies of the nation; but was to be understood simply as a declaration that the citizens from that day would punish no man but according to law. They despatched messengers at the same time to prevent the liberation of Bezenval; and closed all by a formal renunciation of the powers which, they said, only the necessities of the times had compelled them to assume.

These facts were no sooner communicated to the national assembly, than they produced an interesting and important debate among the friends of liberty. Some, in particular Mess. Lally Tolendal, Mounier, Clermont Tonnerre, and Garat the younger, supported the sacred principle of civil liberty, that no person ought to be arrested without a positive accusation. "Let us not be told," said they, "of the popular clamours: if a mere suspicion be called a popular clamour, what citizen can be assured for a moment of that liberty which we are seated here to protect*?"

Mess. Gleizeu, Robespierre, Mirabeau, and Barnave replied:---That the present question was not relative to the general principles of civil liberty:---that the people had a right to arrest a man who had publicly appeared at the head of their enemies, and who fled the kingdom at the instant when the assembly announced its intention of prosecuting the enemies of the nation. M. Bezenval, they urged, is accused by the voice of the public:---if he is innocent, let him be acquitted; if he is guilty, let him be punished. The object at present is to preserve him from the fury of the multitude, to declare him under the safeguard of the law. A legal prosecution only can prevent popular outrage.

The debate concluded in a resolution, "approving of the explanation which the electors had given of their de-

* It would have been happy for France if these sentiments had prevailed.

cree; adding, that if a generous nation prohibited proscription, it was still the duty of the representatives to take care that justice should be duly executed;—and that, as to the person of baron de Bezenval, it was to remain in secure custody near the place where it was arrested, he being from that time under the safeguard of the law.”

M. de Bezenval had been in the mean time conducted to Brie-Comte-Robert, where he was committed to the castle, which was put in a posture of defence. It was fortunate for him, that the courier dispatched by the assembly to prevent his being brought to Paris used extraordinary diligence. Thirty thousand desperadoes waited for him at the Grève, where a gallows and a rope were made ready; and every thing announced the renewal of the horrid scenes which had so lately been acted.

Had he indeed entered the city, no human power could have saved him.

The affair of M. de Bezenval was not the only circumstance which, at this tumultuous period, outraged the sensibility, and interrupted the proceedings of the national assembly. At St. Denis, near Paris, a most horrid murder was committed. The sieur Chatel, lieutenant to the mayor, was charged with the distribution of corn there; and the bread which the bakers offered for sale not proving agreeable to the mob, a riot was excited.—The personal enemies of M. Chatel, and others suspected of being disaffected to the new order of things, assiduously mingled in the mob. After a vigorous defence, this unfortunate gentleman escaped to the belfry of the collegiate church; but was discovered by a child, and pursued immediately by the multitude. There the savages fastening the bell-ropes about his neck, and drawing them different ways, inhumanly strangled him; and what adds to the atrociousness of the crime is, that he was a gentleman of known worth, and of great humanity; a friend of liberty, and the patron of the poor.

It is some time before a people can learn to be free. At Caen in Normandy, disturbances similar to those in Paris took place in a few days after the revolution. The circumstance which gave rise to these fatal broils, is said to be

be as follows: Some soldiers of the regiment of Artois, came either by accident or on business to Caen, and were decorated with medals, as the honourable marks of their devotion to the cause of liberty and their country. These patriotic soldiers, who were unarmed, were insulted by some dragoons of the regiment of Bourbon, who, after an unequal, though bloody combat, robbed them of their medals. The wounded men complained to the citizens; and the marquis de Belzune, who was major of the dragoons, was accused of having excited his soldiers to this atrocious conduct. The people immediately had recourse to their arms; the municipal officers, as well as those of the regiment, exerted themselves to prevent the effusion of blood. M. de Belzune protested his innocence, and offered to appear at the Hotel de Ville, where he would render them the most convincing proofs. The regiment, however, would not permit him to proceed, unless they had hostages for his safe return; which were immediately given. The unfortunate major bravely delivered himself into the hands of the multitude; and the national guard surrounded him, with a view of conducting him to the citadel, where he might be in safety. In the mean time, the marquis de Harcourt, commander in chief of the province, ordered the regiment out of the town; and tranquillity appeared so completely re-established, that the hostages were set at liberty. The regiment was however scarcely out of the boundaries, when the insurrection re-kindled; the mob broke in upon the national guard, and murdered the unfortunate marquis de Belzune, with every circumstance of barbarity.

The city of Strasbourg was also the theatre of some bloody scenes. This city, when it became united to France, had preserved its ancient form of government, which was originally democratic, but had degenerated insensibly (as all institutions purely democratic generally will) into an aristocracy. The people, therefore, disgusted with the usurpations of the magistracy, had for a considerable period only waited an opportunity to revolt; and the news of the taking of the bastille excited an universal ferment. A general illumination took place on
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the night of the 20th of July; and those houses which did not follow the example, had the windows presently demolished by the populace.—The city continued in a state of uproar till the 22d; during which time the magistrates had pacified the more respectable citizens; and all would have been quiet, had not a band of ruffians, from the German side of the Rhine, insinuated themselves into the city during the troubles. At about four o'clock in the afternoon of the 22d, the Hotel de Ville was invaded by this banditti, and the succeeding night and morning the city was on fire in several places: the citizens, however, joining with the soldiery, orders were at length given to charge the mob, many of whom were killed by the soldiers, and a few were afterwards executed; the greater part of whom were foreigners from the other side of the river. The city, however, continued a kind of military discipline till the 6th of August, when another riot ensued from the intemperance of the soldiers; but was quieted by the timely interference of the count de Rochambeau, commander in chief of the province.

Hitherto, in the midst of these disastrous events, the assembly itself preserved a degree of unanimity, from the time when the orders became united, which gave a force and dignity to all its proceedings. The latent seeds of discord, however, germinated within its constitution; and the first appearance of disorder was at the time when a successor was to be chosen to the duke de Liancourt. M. Thouret, a celebrated advocate of Rouen, a distinguished patriot, and a most excellent citizen, was elected by a considerable majority to the president's chair. The scrutiny was no sooner declared, than a considerable party expressed the strongest dissatisfaction, and, it is said, even proceeded to threats. M. Thouret, however, had the magnanimity and patriotism to decline the high honour that awaited him, and M. Chapellier, one of the deputies of Britany, was elected in his stead.

The assembly had been assiduously employed for some time on the great question of a declaration of the natural rights of men and citizens; and the debates upon this subject were full of ingenious disquisition, and profound
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moral and political speculation.—On the 4th of August, however, this body saw the object of its deliberations take a very different course; and instead of metaphysical discussion, and abstract reasoning, it was at once turned to decisive measures, and those the boldest and most interesting, perhaps, that ever distinguished the proceedings of a legislative body.

The committee of reports, after having exhibited an affecting picture of the public and private calamities with which the kingdom was convulsed, proposed, as a means of remedying these evils, “that the assembly should publish, as soon as possible, a solemn declaration, intimating its anxiety and concern for the troubles which agitated the provinces, its entire disapprobation of the non-payment of taxes, rents, and other feudal incumbrances; and declaring, that till the assembly had passed a decree upon these subjects, there existed no motive to justify such non-payment.”

Considerable debates succeeded upon this proposition, and a variety of projects were proposed for extricating the nation from the difficulties and troubles in which it was involved.—At length the viscount de Noailles arose to point out, he said, the only means of restoring peace. “We are called upon, said he, to quiet the troubles, and quell the insurrections which exist in the country: to do this, we must inquire into the cause of these troubles, and this will lead us to the proper remedy. The communities have made a demand upon us; they have demanded that they should be released from the chains of vassalage, and that the seignorial oppressions should be abolished or changed. For three months the communities have beheld us engaged in verbal disputes, while their own attention and their wishes are directed to things: they are acquainted only with two classes of people, those who now bear arms to assert their liberties, and those higher orders whose interest it is to oppose them.—What is the consequence? They are armed to reclaim their rights, and they see no prospect of obtaining their object but by force. Thus the whole kingdom is convulsed; and thus there are no means of restoring tranquillity, but by convincing
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the people that we are in earnest in their cause, and that we resist them only where it is manifestly for their interest that they should be resisted.

“I propose, therefore, 1. That the committee be instructed to propose a declaration, that every TAX shall henceforward be levied in proportion to the income of each individual. 2. That the burdens of the state be equally borne by every member of the state. 3. That all feudal claims, which are not of a personal nature, shall be redeemable on a fair valuation. 4. That all the claims of the lord, which are of a personal nature, such as personal service, &c. shall cease without any ransom.”

This motion was highly applauded, and was seconded by the duke d'Aiguillon in a very able speech. M. le Grand established a most accurate distinction between the different species of feudal rights. “They are,” said he, “real, personal, or mixed. The first, such as *mainmorte* or vassalage, the *corvées* or right to the labour of the peasant, &c. are vicious in their origin, contrary to the imprescriptible rights of man, and consequently so unjust, that to order them to be ransomed would be an act deserving of the severest censure. With respect to real rights, such as quit-rents, rents, rents in kind, &c. they must not only be made redeemable, but the whole of such claims on any individual must be consolidated, and the valuation made accordingly. Mixed rights, such as the *bannalites* (or compulsion to bake in the landlord's oven, upon paying a toll out of the flour), as they partake of the nature of both the others, ought to be redeemed, but at a more moderate ransom than those claims which are actually real.”

M. Guen de Kerengall enumerated several absurd species of feudal claims, many of which cannot even be named without offence to modest ears. By the feudal laws of some cantons, the vassals were subject to be yoked to the carriage of the lord, like beasts of burden; in some the tenants were obliged to pass whole nights in beating the ponds, that his rest might not be disturbed by the croaking of frogs; in others they were compelled to maintain his hounds: but the most dreadful instance of

feudal barbarism, was a law (obsolete indeed for ages) which authorised the lord, in certain districts, on his return from hunting, to rip open the bellies of two of his vassals, that he might foment his feet in their warm bowels by way of refreshment.

In fine, the motions of M. de Noailles were approved unanimously; and the disinterested patriotism of the assembly being wound up to the highest pitch, they were followed by other sacrifices truly honourable to the members of the privileged orders. The first of these was *the total abolition of the inferior courts of justice established upon feudal principles* throughout the kingdom, and which were in every respect corrupt and oppressive.

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The bishop of Chartres, after approving the sacrifices already made, recommended the *suppression of the game laws.*—He represented, in strong terms, the absurdity of those impositions which condemned the husbandman to be the patient spectator of the ravage of his fields, and exposed him to severe punishment if he presumed to destroy those animals which were most detrimental to his labours.—A number of voices from the nobility concurred in these sentiments, and demanded a renunciation of what were termed the rights of the chase, reserving only to the proprietors of the land the right of sporting within their own demesnes.

The acclamations of the assembly were interrupted by the president de S. Fargeau, who demanded an explanation to the declarations of the nobility and clergy concerning the *equalization of taxes*. "We have given a hope to the people," said he; "let us give them a reality. Why should we delay a moment to perform what all the instructions from the different orders have constituted as almost the first of our labours? I propose, that not only for the last six months of the year, but from the very commencement of it, all the members of the privileged classes, without exception, support their proportional part of the public imposts; and until this assembly shall have established the principles upon which taxes shall in future be paid, I am of opinion the adjustment of the proportion should be left to the discretion of the provincial assemblies, the assemblies of the departments, &c."

These renunciations were followed by those of the *exclusive right of rabbit warrens* and of *fisheries*. M. de Riché proposed to abolish the *sale of offices*; and the count de Visieux recommended the demolition of *dorve-cotes*, which, trifling as the evil may appear to us, were from their numbers a serious grievance to the peasantry of France. The curé of Souppes offered, in the name of his brethren, the relinquishment of casualties, and all fees exacted from the poor. This generous declaration was followed by that of several dignitaries of the church, who stated, that, agreeably to the spirit of the canons, they were determined to limit themselves to the possession of a *single benefice*. M. Duport embraced this opportunity to compliment the inferior clergy, and to propose an *augmentation of their stipends*.

After confirming these proposals by a vote of the assembly, the business of reform appeared almost exhausted, when the deputies of those provinces which enjoyed peculiar privileges, came forward to lay their charters and their franchises at the feet of the national representatives. Dauphiné, which was always forward to sacrifice its advantages to the welfare of the nation, was the first to testify its acquiescence on the present occasion. The marquis de Blazons called the attention of the assembly to the reso-

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lution which his province had passed at Vizillé, to renounce its peculiar privileges. He expressed his wish, that all the other provinces would imitate this example, and declare themselves satisfied with the name and privileges of French citizens. He had scarcely spoken when the deputies of Britany, which had always been the rival of Dauphiné in patriotism, pressed round the table to make a similar sacrifice. The impatience of the representatives of Provence and Forcalquier scarcely suffered them to wait till those of Britany had made their patriotic declaration; and they were followed by the deputations of Burgundy, Languedoc, and by the representatives of Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, Bourdeaux, Strasbourg, &c.

A number of motions of less importance succeeded; and the suppression of deport, vacat, annates, and pluralities, was immediately decreed. The duke de Liancourt proposed that a medal should be struck off in commemoration of this unparalleled session, and that a solemn *Te Deum* should be performed. On the reigning monarch, the august title of **RESTORER OF GALLIC LIBERTY** was conferred by a decree, and a deputation appointed to wait upon his majesty, respectfully to inform him of these transactions.

It is evident that these sacrifices, disinterested as they were, could not be generally acceptable. The great body of the nobility and clergy were disposed to deny the power of their representatives, who, they asserted, had voted away what was not their own. That they should not have had more weight with the people, is more surprising; but the spirit of anarchy and licentiousness was excited, and could not easily subside. In some places, the decrees of the assembly seemed to be made the excuse for new disorders—The game in particular was made a common prey; and, in the pursuit, even the extreme necessities of the kingdom were disregarded, as the standing corn was trodden down and destroyed. But the great cause of confusion was the increasing scarcity of bread, which seemed to render the populace desperate, and totally regardless of order. Some convoys of bread and provisions were stopped on the road to Paris; and two electors

tors of that city, who were employed at Provence in purchasing supplies for the metropolis, were arrested on the suspicion of being monopolists, and narrowly escaped with their lives.

On the 7th of August the new ministers, the keeper of the seals, the marshal Bauvau, the count de Montmorin, the count de la Luzerne, M. Neckar, the count de St. Priest, the Archbishop of Vienne, and the count de la Tour du Pin, were introduced at their request to the assembly; and the archbishop of Bourdeaux, the keeper of the seals, drew a most lamentable picture of the disorders which prevailed throughout the kingdom. He was followed by M. Neckar, who represented, in strong terms the miserable state of the public treasury, which on his entrance into office was found to contain only four hundred thousand livres, chiefly in notes of the *caisse d'es-compte*. He added, that the deficit between the income and the expences was enormous; and that such had been the sums which the king had been obliged to issue for the purchase of grain, and for the support of the poor, and such the deficiency created by the non-payment of taxes, that no resource remained but to raise a loan of thirty millions to satisfy the engagements and inevitable expences of the state for two months, by which time he presumed that considerable progress would be made in the establishing of a constitution. This loan he proposed at five per cent. But the proposal was remitted to the consideration of the committee of finance; which presuming too far upon the patriotism of the people, retrenched the terms of the loan of all those little advantages which the minister had annexed to it, in order to induce the moneyed people to subscribe, and reduced the interest to four and a half*. In the debates which took place upon the proposals of the minister, there appears reason to suspect that the count de Mirabeau was instigated by a personal op-

* This was one of the first errors of the assembly—It will be curious to attend to the gradations by which France has been ruined; they all originated in that fatal distrust of the executive power, which first led them to counteract, next to disgrace ministers, and at last to dethrone the monarch himself.

position to M. Neckar; and it was certainly owing to his influence in the assembly that the plan of the minister was not adopted. The consequence was, that in three weeks not more than two million six hundred thousand livres were subscribed to the loan, and the project utterly failed. In order therefore to procure a supply of forty millions, another scheme was offered by M. Neckar, and adopted by the assembly, which was, to solicit a loan of eighty millions at five per cent. One half of which might be paid in stock; but the assembly had lost the favourable opportunity, and, by the impediments which they threw in the way of M. Neckar's first project, had unsettled the faith of the moneyed interest in the new government.

In the mean time the tumultuous state of the nation obliged the legislature to pass a decree, recommending to the municipalities to be vigilant for the public safety, and rigorously to prosecute all who should be found exciting public alarms or disturbances. The decrees of the 4th of August also had been sent to a committee, which was appointed for the purpose of reducing them into the form of a law; and from the 5th to the 11th the different articles were debated. Most of those which respected the feudal claims were confirmed with little variation; but the committee considering tithes as a species of feudal tax levied on the land, had inserted them in the decree as redeemable like the other feudal assessments. To this construction the clergy strongly objected, and alleged that it confounded two things essentially different, the feudal tithes and those which were purely ecclesiastical, which last constituted a species of private property, not at the disposal of the nation. The necessities of the state, on the other hand, had for some time induced the popular party to look upon the wealth of the church as the last resource for the replenishment of an exhausted treasury; and with this view the proposal of the committee was strenuously supported by Messrs. Chassell, Mirabeau, &c. The abbé Sieyes was the ablest defender of the rights of the clergy. With great logical precision and accurate information, he evinced that the tithes were not a tax imposed by the nation,

tion, but a rent charge laid upon their estates by the original proprietors for the maintenance of the church; that the actual proprietors had purchased their estates subject to this rent-charge; and that the legislature had no authority to transfer this, which was a real property, from the hands of the clergy to the landholders, who had no legitimate nor apparent claim to it.—“If you wish to be free,” added he, “begin by being just.” The necessities of the nation, however, constituted a plea on the other side, which was not to be resisted*; and on the morning after this debate, fifteen curés sent to the assembly an act, by which they voluntarily resigned into the hands of the nation the whole of their ecclesiastical rights, and declared that they were content to rely on the justice of that body for an equitable provision. This act of patriotism was received with the loudest burst of applause; and, as if by a sudden emotion, all the parochial clergy in the assembly stepped forward to the table to make the same sacrifice. The archbishop of Paris next declared, “that in the name of his brethren, he begged leave to place the whole of their tithes under the discretion of the representatives of the nation—claiming only for themselves enough to support the decency and dignity of public worship, and to enable them to administer to the relief of the poor.”—“Such is the wish of all the clergy,” exclaimed the cardinal de la Rochefoucault; “we place our confidence in the nation.”

The decree which abolished the feudal system, and the exclusive privileges of hunting, fishing, &c. and which laid all offices and dignities open to every citizen without distinction of birth; which declared that the tithes should be commuted for by a certain stipend; which prohibited the sale of offices, the payment of fees to the clergy on casualties, and all payments to the see of Rome; which annihilated the feudal jurisdictions, pluralities, pensions,

* This was the second great error of the assembly. To alienate the affections of so important a body as the clergy, in this early stage of the Revolution, was no less impolitic than the cause was unjust.

and the particular privileges of those provinces which were called *pays d'états*, was finally passed on the 13th of August, and accepted by the king.

Tacitus has somewhere lamented, that the scenes which his duty compelled him to record, wanted that interest and variety which decorated the more flourishing periods of the republic, and complains that his *Annals* contain little more than details of bloodshed and assassinations. In this respect the historian of anarchy will find himself in a similar predicament with the annalist of despotism; and the necessity of recurring so frequently to the odious topic of popular commotion and phrensy, may perhaps be supposed to stand in need of an apology. The truth is, the kingdom of France, at the period we are describing, was destitute of regular government. The executive power, which is supported only by public opinion, was seized with a kind of political paralysis; it was neither capable of restraining the public impetuosity, nor of directing its motions. The whole kingdom was in agitation, and the slightest rumour was sufficient to produce a paroxysm of popular delusion and madness. The metropolis was however agitated beyond every other part; it was the centre of political discussion, and the theatre where those who were disaffected to the new order of things could put in action their artifices with most safety and with most effect. The calamities which the people had so lately escaped, and the malevolence and well-known perfidy of their enemies, had generated in them habits of suspicion; and the acts of bloodshed into which they had been betrayed, had familiarized them with cruelty.

In this state of things, we are not to wonder if we see the populace on the point of sacrificing one of their best friends, and in the course of a few weeks demanding clamorously the life of him whom they had chosen for their general. Thus, while the assembly were engaged in performing the most important services to the people, the inhabitants of Paris were endeavouring to dip their hands in the blood of a man (the marquis de la Salle), who, though one of the first of the nobles, had deserted the cause of his order from an affection for the people. On the

5th of August, about nine in the evening, a boat was discovered on the river, rowed by three men, and was stopped by the inhabitants of Port St. Paul: it was found loaded with ammunition from the arsenal; and this discovery was no sooner made, than a general alarm was excited. The boatmen were examined, and M. de la Voisfiere and some other persons who had the custody of the powder, &c. were sent for, who produced an order signed "De la Salle, acting for the M. de la Fayette."—It was in vain that it was represented to the mob, that this powder was *poudre de traite*, that is, of an inferior quality, such as is sent to Guinea; which was transporting from the arsenal only to be changed for better. The mob immediately exclaimed, it is *poudre de traître*! and clamoured for vengeance. M. de la Salle had been dining in the country, and in the evening had returned to the Hotel de Ville, where he was no sooner arrived, than he found upwards of forty thousand people demanding his life. Learning by accident the cause of this tumult, he had, however, the good fortune to retreat without being discovered.

During this time a miscreant had mounted the lamp-post, with a new rope in his hand, where he is said to have remained for not less than three quarters of an hour, while a crew of banditti broke into the Hotel de Ville, and ascended even into the clock, in quest of the marquis de la Salle. The coolness and serenity of the marquis de la Fayette appeared to increase with the tumult and the danger. In the mean time he had given secret orders, and had arranged every thing for the public safety by the agency of a faithful serjeant. At length, when he was satisfied that every thing was right, he suddenly arose, and addressing himself to the committee who had sat with him the whole evening, he said—"You are fatigued, gentlemen, and I am fatigued also—let us retire; the Grève is completely free; and I give you my word, that Paris was never in a more perfect state of tranquillity." On looking out of the windows, nothing was to be seen of the mob who had so lately filled the square; it was entirely occupied by soldiers of the national guard, drawn up in most excellent order, who had been gradually introduced
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by the marquis, and by this means without tumult or trouble, expelled their opponents.

The restoration of tranquillity and order was an object of the first importance with the friends of liberty, and it was evident, that to place the municipal governments under proper regulation, was the only method of effecting this desired end. As Paris also was not only the first in importance, but the most exposed to the disasters of anarchy, to put a stop to the disorders of the capital was a matter of the most urgent necessity; this could only be done by giving the citizens an interest in the support of good government; and by conferring on those who had property to defend, functions and authority adequate to this purpose; by establishing a regular chain of subordination, and enabling each person to comprehend his proper duties as a public man. A temporary plan of municipal regulation was therefore devised by M. Bailly for the metropolis, which was to exist only till the assembly had perfected that more enlarged scheme by which the whole of the kingdom was to be regulated. As this plan was only temporary, it is unnecessary to enter into any detail concerning it. It is sufficient to say, that the number of the representatives of the districts were augmented to three hundred; that a committee of subsistence was established, which delivered the city from the horrors of famine; and that a lieutenant of the mayor was appointed in every district, who contributed greatly to preserve the harmony of government, and to facilitate the execution of every measure for the preservation of the public tranquillity.

Another operation no less important, was the organization of the national guard in Paris. The plan of M. de la Fayette for this purpose was simple but excellent. The parisian infantry was limited to thirty-one thousand men, of whom one thousand were officers; six thousand were paid as soldiers, and the other twenty-four thousand consisted entirely of the citizens without pay. The city of Paris was apportioned into six military divisions; a commandant was created for each; and to each district a battalion was appointed, composed of five companies of
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one hundred men each : in those battalions, one company consisted of regular soldiers, or the old French guards, and was termed the centre company. The districts elected their military officers. The choice of each of the six commandants was referred to an electoral assembly of the division, composed of representatives of the districts. The right of electing a commander in chief was vested in the districts at large, who appointed a major and lieutenant-general. To those important posts the marquis de la Fayette promoted M. Gouvion, who had been his colleague and companion when he fought for American liberty ; and M. Jarré, who had been distinguished in Holland by his attachment to the patriotic party.

After having satisfied the immediate demands of the nation, by the abolition of the feudal absurdities, the national assembly returned to its great work, a declaration of the rights of man. Among the many schemes or systems which were presented to the assembly on this occasion, three principally arrested their attention ; those of M. de la Fayette, of the abbé Sieyès, and of M. Mounier. The first of these, in its clearness and simplicity, greatly resembled the celebrated American declaration : that of the abbé Sieyès embraced the whole fabric of man, and pointed out his rights and his duties in the various departments of social life ; it was, however, too complex and profound to be adopted as a kind of popular catechism ; that of M. Mounier was not quite so plain and simple as that of the marquis de la Fayette, and was yet less complex than the other. It was, however, neither sufficiently clear and decisive in its principles, nor precise in its phraseology ; and the assembly, after long debates referred the matter to a committee of five members. M. Mirabeau proposed, that the declaration of rights might serve as a kind of preface or introduction to the system of the constitution. After long debates upon the subject, however, it was agreed, that the declaration of rights should be immediately published ; and on the 20th of August that form was adopted, which afterwards appeared at the head of the new constitution.

It would be at once useless and uninteresting to enter into

into a minute detail of the circumstances under which the several articles of the French constitution were voted, or of the debates which they occasioned. The day after the declaration of rights was decreed, six articles, chiefly relating to the nature of the monarchy, collected literally from the instructions, were read in the assembly, and were upon the point of being collectively passed; but M. Pethion, whose anti-monarchical prejudices have been so injurious to his country, entered upon a long declamation on the subject, and insisted on the rashness of passing a number of articles without a specific examination. After a debate of some length, it appeared, that the great object of discussion would be the share which should be allowed to the monarch in the legislative authority. It was therefore determined previously to investigate this single point, whether a law could be enacted by the mere authority of the legislative body, without the sanction of the king; or what we term in England the *royal assent*? The latin word *veto*, which had been in use in Poland on similar occasions, was adopted in the debates to express the negative of the king; and on the subject of this negative three opinions were prevalent in the national assembly.

Mess. Mounier, Lally Tolendal, Treillard, d'Antraigues, de Mirabeau, and de Liancourt, supported the absolute veto of the king. Two powers, they observed, existed in the body politic; the power of willing or decreeing, and that of acting. By the first, a society established the rules of its own conduct, and by the second, these rules were carried into execution and effect. Both of these powers are equally necessary; and if on the one part it is essential to liberty that the legislative should be secured from the executive power, so it is no less necessary to support this last against the usurpations of the other; this could only be effected by investing the chief magistrate with an authority to examine the acts of the legislative body, and to refuse to endow them with the sacred character of laws.

If the whole collective body of the people were capable of expressing their will in direct terms, it would be absurd to subject laws so enacted to a royal sanction; but in a
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representative government, where the deputies might be chosen more from circumstances of fortune and situation than from personal virtue and merit, and where it is possible that the majority of them might unite in opposition to the general good, it is necessary to counteract such an aristocracy by the prerogative of a monarch. Hence an alliance between the crown and the people, against every species of aristocracy, is created by their respective interests and their fears. If, for instance, the prince is possessed of no negative, what shall hinder the representatives from passing an act for perpetuating their own authority, like the famous long parliament of England? What shall prevent them from invading all the functions of the executive power, as well as the rights of the people? There are only two cases in which a monarch can be supposed to refuse his assent: 1st, where he conceives the law in question to be opposite to the real interests of the people; or 2dly, where, deceived by his ministers, he is induced to resist a law which is injurious to their personal interests. In the first case, the prerogative will be beneficially exercised; in the second, the law will be only suspended: for it is impossible that a limited monarch should long resist the wishes of the whole nation. In fact, his veto, however absolute, can be no more at any time than an appeal from the legislature to the people at large.

Such were the arguments with which the almost irresistible eloquence of Mirabeau, in particular, defended the absolute veto: they were, however, combated with some energy by the opposite party. It is essentially necessary, said they, to preserve distinct the two departments of government, the legislative and the executive powers; nor is there any thing in the proper and natural functions of a king, which makes it necessary to constitute him as an essential integrant branch of the legislature. It is difficult to draw the line between the right of stopping proceedings, and the right of action. The right of stopping proceedings in the hands of the executive power, would be to make it superior to the majority of the legislature; it would be a *lettre de cachet* against the supreme will of the nation.

A suspensive veto, or an appeal to the will of the nation, it was urged, would be attended with worse consequences than even the absolute negative: it would change the very nature of the government, and convert it into a pure democracy, instead of a representative government. What an appeal would it be, to twenty-six millions of people, of whom nine tenths are destitute of instruction, and incapable of understanding the complex nature of political questions? But it is pretended, that the legislative power may one day encroach upon the executive; as if a power destitute of arms, could contend with a power which has continually arms in its hands; as if an assembly of 1200 men, necessarily divided by their private interests, and invested with a transient authority, were likely to invade successfully the perpetual and hereditary depository of the whole public force. Consult history, and you will find throughout every page the legislature of free nations employed, not in usurping the executive power, but in restraining it. Doubtless a good king will consult the general wish of the nation; but a violent and obstinate king will expose, in defending his prerogative, both his crown and his life.

It was in these terms that Mess. Garat junior, de Landine, Sales, Beaumetz, and others, attacked the royal negative. A very small party pleaded for a suspensive veto; but as both the great parties agreed in rejecting it, every plan of mediation appeared at first improbable. In the course, however, of the discussion, new lights were reflected upon the subject, and inclined both parties at length to this middle path.

It was acknowledged that the great fountain of the executive power could not, without some danger, be deprived of this prerogative; nor could it be unlimitedly assigned to the monarch, without the apprehension of a danger still superior. The decisions of a legislative body are certainly not infallible, and in some instances may be opposite even to the will of the nation in general: it that case, therefore, there should exist some counterpoise to their action; and though it might be dangerous and impolitic to make the king a constituent part of the legislature, yet the power

power of suspending a law is not an act of legislation. An actual appeal to the people at large would be impracticable, if not unconstitutional. When France adopted the representative form of government, it virtually abolished mandatory instructions from the constituents: supposing then the national assembly to be changed at certain periods by new elections, no great inconvenience could arise from investing the monarch with a power of suspending, for a certain number of successive legislatures, any law that might appear to him contrary to the welfare of the state. It was added, would not this suspensive veto, on the other hand, place the representatives and the king in a state of emulation extremely conducive to the general good? Would not the deputies of the nation become more circumspect, in not presenting for the royal sanction laws which the king might reject with applause? And would not the monarch be cautious of suspending laws, so good in themselves as to secure their enactment in successive legislatures?

The discussion of this important question was not confined to the assembly. The city of Paris most illegally and improperly presumed to dictate on this occasion, and afforded a melancholy omen of that horrid and unconstitutional interference by which the government was afterwards to be outraged: the populace threatened again to relapse into all their former violence; and even a list was shewn in which a number of members belonging to the assembly itself were marked for destruction. Rennes and Dinan also formally protested against the veto in the most violent terms. In the mean time a memoire was sent from M. Neckar to the assembly on this subject, in which, by a number of very sensible arguments, he enforced the adoption of the suspensive veto, limiting its effects to two legislatures: but the majority, consisting of the most violent of both parties, on the plea of prohibiting all ministerial influence, would not permit the memoire to be read. It was, however, made public in a few days, and is supposed to have had considerable weight with the people at least, if not with the assembly. It was therefore at length determined, "that the king should have the power of sus-

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pending any decree for two successive legislatures; but that if a third should persist in enacting it, in that case it was to have the force of a law without the royal sanction."

While the assembly remained undetermined on the important question of the royal *veto*, (for it was in agitation from the latter end of August to the 14th of September) other subjects of government not less interesting presented themselves for discussion. The first of these regarded the permanence of a national assembly; in plain terms, whether there should always exist an assembly ready to be convoked upon any occasion, like the parliament of England; or whether it should only meet periodically, and be virtually dissolved on the close of the session. On this topic there was little room for dissent, and it was carried in favour of a permanent assembly with only three dissenting voices. On the next topic of discussion there was less unanimity. M. Lally Tollendal, in the name of the committee of constitution, proposed that the legislature should consist of two chambers, a lower and an upper house. In the original draft which the reporter exhibited as an improvement on the English constitution, the senate or upper house was to be composed of members chosen for life; but M. Mounier thought that this high dignity ought to be conferred only for seven years.

This proposed organisation was universally disapproved by the people. It was evidently founded on the supposed balance of powers in the English constitution. But the popular party considered it as an asylum for the old aristocracy, and (to use the phraseology of a writer of this party) as the cradle of a new one: nay, even the partisans of the feudal system opposed the creation of a new dignity, which was to be raised in function and authority above the ancient nobility of the realm.

On the discussion of the subject in the assembly, the English government was treated with all due respect; but M. Rabaut de St. Etienne observed, that the establishment of an upper house there, was not originally with any view of restraining the excesses of popular councils, but was simply a treaty of accommodation; a capitulation

tulation between the arrogance of the great and the spirit of liberty in the people. It is," said he, "one of the feudal relics, and we have agreed to destroy that pernicious system."

The very nature of things, it was urged, is adverse to every division of the legislative authority. The nation which is represented is *one*, the representative body ought to be *one* also. The *will* of the nation, of which the assembly is the organ, is indivisible, and so ought to be the *voice* which pronounces it.—Again, if the two chambers have not respectively a *veto* upon the acts of each other, there is no object in dividing them: if each of them possesses this *veto*, in some cases they will be reduced to perfect inaction. If the senators are appointed for life, they will naturally be on the side of the monarch, who may gratify their avarice by places and pensions, and amuse their ambition by splendid expectations and promises: a senate for life then would be no more than an additional force added to the executive power.

The remainder of the debate was interrupted and tumultuous. The bishop of Langres, who was president, and a decided friend to the measure of two chambers, quitted the chair, which was taken by the count de Clermont-Tonnerre; and when the suffrages were collected, though more than one thousand voted, only eighty nine were in favour of an upper house.

In the discussion of the *veto* two other subjects also had been involved; namely, the *duration of the legislative body*, and the mode to be pursued in *re-electing the deputies*. On the first of these topics two evils were to be avoided; an existence too short, which afforded no scope for experience, nor for the display of talents, and which would necessarily render the operations of the legislature versatile and inconstant; and a protracted duration, which might open a way to corruption, and generate the *esprit de corps*. The term of *two years* was adopted*, as the medium between the extreme points of an annual assembly and the dangerous possession of authority for a more

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The assembly decreed with an unanimous voice of acclamation, That the *person of the king is inviolable*; that the *throne is indivisible*; that the *crown is hereditary* in the males of the reigning family, according to the order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of females.

The unanimity on these questions was nearly destroyed, and the proceedings of the assembly interrupted, by the artful introduction of a most imprudent topic. The only hope of the disaffected party now rested on the probability of involving the nation in a dispute or contest with some foreign power; and a fair opportunity was offered when the motion for regulating the succession came under consideration. It was then proposed, that the assembly should decide whether the Spanish branch of the Bourbon family were legally excluded by the renunciation which Philip V. had agreed to by the treaty of Utrecht. No question could be more impertinent or irrelevant in its object than this; and the necessary consequence of a decision must have been, on the one hand, to disgust the court of Spain, or on the other, to give occasion to the calumniators of the new legislature to assert, that they paid no regard to the sacred nature of treaties. From this dilemma they were happily relieved, after three days debate, by an amendment proposed by M. Target, which disavowed the intention of extending the spirit of the last of the above articles to the prejudging of the effect of renunciations by treaty.

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The decrees of the 4th of August had, as we have already stated, been sent to the king; and on the 12th of September a decree was passed, pressing the necessity of their promulgation. On the 18th a letter was received from his majesty, approving in general terms of the spirit of the decrees, but stating some objections against particular articles, especially the abolition of those rents which had been originally founded in personal service, but which were to the present proprietors a species of actual property: and also remarking, that some difficulty would attend the abolition of tithes; and that there appeared some danger of offending the German princes who had possessions in Alsace, which were secured to them by treaty. To these articles therefore he proposed to give only a conditional assent, with a promise of modifying or even renouncing his opinions, if convinced by the observations of the national assembly.

Neither the people nor the assembly were satisfied with this letter of the king. It was said that these decrees were sent to the executive power, not for his assent, but for the purpose of promulgation merely; that they were principles rather than laws, and that the sanction of the executive power was not necessary to the consecration of principles; but that the observations of his majesty would come properly under consideration when these articles were to be reduced into the form of laws. On the motion of M. Chappelier, therefore, it was resolved, "That the president should wait on the king to entreat him, that he would immediately order the promulgation of the decrees of the 4th of August and the following days; assuring his majesty that the national assembly would pay the most respectful attention to the observations which he had been pleased to communicate." The king immediately acceded to the wishes of the legislature, and on the 20th of September sanctioned the decrees.

Amidst this general prospect of a happy establishment of rational liberty, the derangement of the finances seemed to oppose an invincible obstacle to the patriotic labours of the friends of the people. The proposed loan of eighty millions had failed; loans in general were decried; and the

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the current specie of the kingdom was transferred to distant countries. Nothing, however, could discourage the confidence which the citizens reposed in their representatives; the pecuniary difficulties which embarrassed the government were no sooner known, than a number of disinterested expedients were projected for relieving them. The wives and daughters of the opulent inhabitants of Paris appeared at the bar of the assembly, and, after the example of the Roman ladies, offered their jewels and their ornaments of value on the altar of the public. The whole kingdom was at once actuated by a general enthusiasm; infancy sacrificed its toys; old age its comfort; opulence presented the tribute of its wealth; and poverty itself consecrated to its country a part of its subsistence. The king, whose benevolence has never been questioned, however imprudently he may have acted in some difficult circumstances, and under improper influence, voluntarily sent his rich services of plate to the mint, though the assembly entreated him in the strongest terms to revoke the resolution.

The necessities of the state, however, were too considerable to be materially relieved by these patriotic donations; and they were found scarcely sufficient to answer the current expences. M. Neckar was the only person who did not despair. He had the courage to represent to the assembly the calamitous situation of the republic, and the means of alleviating it. He shewed that by certain reductions in the public expence, by different projects of economy, by an equalization of the taxes, the most reasonable hopes might be entertained respecting the future restoration of credit, and re-establishment of the finances; and, in order to obviate the present embarrassment proposed that a *contribution should be demanded from every citizen equivalent to a quarter of his nett income*, to be collected in the space of fifteen months, agreeably to the solemn declaration of the respective contributors. The assembly were terrified at the boldness of the project; but the count de Mirabeau, who possibly repented of the share he had taken in defeating the former project of the minister, now exerted the full force of his irresistible talents in his favour.

vour. He proved that the exigencies of the state required an immediate supply; and that it was impossible to substitute a new scheme of finance in the place of that proposed by M. Neckar, or even to examine that which he had submitted to them; since to go through the very figures which the statement contained would require a period of not less than three entire months. He urged the necessity of confidence in such a conjuncture; a confidence which he observed the former conduct of the minister entirely warranted; and which ought now to be accorded to him, even though his plan might not be the best that human ingenuity could devise, because there was no other before them which they could adopt. The assembly upon these reasons accepted the plan of M. Neckar; and on the 1st of October he presented it in its perfect form, and with it his own contribution, which amounted to 100,000 livres.

Though the scheme however was accepted in the general, the execution of it in detail appeared to be attended with some difficulties; the principal of which was, that all the *cabiers* or instructions had prohibited the imposing of any taxes till the constitution should be established. In this case, however, the necessities of the state rendered a strict compliance with the instructions impossible; but as a pledge to the public, that the assembly were not inattentive to the will of their constituents, several of the patriotic members proposed, that the king should be requested to accept that part of the constitution which was already determined, previous to presenting him with the decree concerning this extraordinary impost. M. Mirabeau, happily combining the different views upon this subject, proposed to make the first part of M. Neckar's plan the preamble to the decree, in order that the prospect of relief might be as conspicuous as the demand. His plan was therefore adopted, notwithstanding the clamours of opposition; and the decree, along with the declaration of rights, was in this state presented to the king.

The events which follow, are by the candid of all parties allowed to be still enveloped in an almost impenetrable cloud of mystery. The democratic writers assert, that a plot

plot was concerted of immense extent for the total ruin of the liberties of France; the principal articles of which were—That the king was to be transported voluntarily, or involuntarily, to Metz; where the royal standard was to be erected; where all the ancient instruments of despotism, the ministers, generals, and parliaments, were to be assembled, and to issue manifestoes against the representatives of the nation—That a subscription was actually opened, by those who termed themselves the king's party for the express purpose of carrying on a civil war—That both the capital and Versailles were once more to be invested with a powerful army—and that the national assembly was to be forcibly dissolved. These assertions undoubtedly receive some countenance from the fragment of a letter from the count d'Estaing to the queen, in which he mentions such rumours having reached his ears, and in which he earnestly dissuades her from becoming a party in so rash a measure. The court party, on the other hand, throw the blame upon their adversaries, and affirm that the whole was a preconcerted plan of the popular leaders to force the king and the assembly to reside within the walls of Paris.

All however that is known with certainty respecting the circumstances which conduced to the commotion at Versailles is, that the minds of the two great parties which had already begun to assume the factious epithets of *democratic* and *aristocratic*, were at this period inflamed to a most extravagant pitch of resentment, and disposed to suspect each other of the most atrocious designs; that the declaration of rights and the first articles of the constitution had remained some days in the hands of the king, who had delayed to give them the expected sanction; that the clamours of the aristocratic party were louder than ever; that every mode was essayed to work upon the compassion and the loyalty of the nation; that the king was represented as dethroned, and reduced to the most abject state of slavery; and that some of the dependants of the court, in the plenitude of their zeal, were heard to boast "that a few days would restore affairs to their ancient situation, and that the king and his ministers would resume their power."

power." It is well known on the other hand, that the old French guards, who composed, as we have already seen, the centre company in each battalion of the city militia, and who had been accustomed to the honour of guarding the king's person, saw with a most jealous eye that important trust committed to the body guard and the militia of Versailles. It is not improbable too, that the more ardent of the patriotic party might entertain suspicions, that the sovereign might one day effect an escape from the unguarded palace of Versailles to put himself into the hands of their enemies, and might secretly wish to see him lodged in a centre of a city devoted to their interests, and from which there was but little probability of retreat.

An incident which occurred at Versailles (which stamps the conduct of the court with at least the stigma of imprudence, and which evinced that they were not without hopes that, as the revolution was in a great measure effected by the change which was produced in the minds of the soldiery, a similar change might operate in their favour) contributed to blow the glowing embers into an open flame. The count d'Estaing, who commanded the national guard of Versailles, either influenced by the court, or jealous of the inclination which the French guards had manifested to partake in the honour of guarding their monarch, requested an additional regiment to assist him in preserving tranquillity and order at the palace; and the regiment of Flanders dragoons was accordingly ordered for this service. On the 1st of October an entertainment (the first that was ever given in public at Versailles by that body) was given by the *gardes-du-corps*, or king's body guard, to the officers of the regiment of Flanders; and to augment the unpopularity of the circumstance, it was given in the royal saloon. Several of the officers of the national guard, with others of the military, were invited. At the second course, four toasts were given: "The king, and the queen, the dauphin, and the royal family." "The nation" was proposed, but, according to a number of witnesses, expressly rejected by the *gardes du-corps*.

The king was just returned from hunting; and the queen,

queen, having been informed of the gaiety of the scene, persuaded his majesty to accompany her with the heir apparent to the saloon, which was now filled with soldiers—the grenadiers of Flanders and the Swiss chasseurs having been admitted to the dessert. The queen appeared with the dauphin in her arms, affectionate as she was lovely, and carried the royal infant through the saloon, amidst the acclamations and murmurs of the spectators. Fired with enthusiasm, the soldiers drank the health of the king, the queen, and the dauphin, with their swords drawn; and the royal guests bowed respectfully, and retired.

The entertainment, which had hitherto been conducted with some degree of order, now became a scene of entire confusion. Nothing was omitted to inflame the passions of the military. The music played the favourite air—“O Richard, O my king, the world abandons thee;” the ladies of the court distributed *white cockades*, the anti-patriot ensign; and even some of the national guard, it is said, had the weakness to accept them. In the height of this political banquet, it is affirmed, and there is indeed little cause to doubt it, that many expressions of marked disrespect towards the assembly and the nation, escaped from the officers of the *gardes-du-corps*, and others of the military: this, however, might easily have happened in such circumstances, without the least of premeditation or evil design.

During these transactions, the city of Paris was afflicted with all the evils of famine. Either no bread was to be obtained, or bread of so bad a quality, that the populace, always mistrustful and suspicious, were not without their alarms of a criminal design upon the lives, or at least the health of the inhabitants. Such was the state of things, when the news arrived of the fatal banquet at Versailles. The circumstances which we have related were strangely magnified: and all the suspicions which were entertained respecting the design of dissolving the assembly, and carrying off the sovereign, were added in exaggeration. At the same time the mutual resentment of the contending parties hourly augmented; and the imprudent conduct of the minority exposed them to every insult,

insult. White and black cockades were worn as signals of defiance. They were torn out of the hats of the wearers by the mob; but such was the enthusiasm of one of these votaries of party, that he is said to have picked up from the ground this relic of loyalty, to have kissed it respectfully, and attempted to replace it in his hat. Every measure that could be taken by the three hundred directors of the municipality to prevent the spreading of the insurrection was taken—in vain! Early on the morning of the memorable 5th of October, a woman sallied out from the quarter of St. Eustacia, and entering the corps-de-garde, and seizing a drum, paraded the adjacent streets beating an alarm, and exciting the people by clamours, respecting the scarcity of bread. She was soon joined by a very numerous mob, chiefly of women, and repaired immediately to the Hotel de Ville. A few of the committee of the commune were assembled; and M. Gou-vion, at the head of the national guard, endeavoured to prevent their entrance: but the soldiers, swayed either by gallantry, humanity, or disaffection, gave way, and permitted them to pass. Some of the women, who, by their air and manner appeared of a superior class, entered with good humour into conversation with the committee, and pleaded eloquently the cause of their companions, who under various circumstances of misery, came to ask for relief. But the greater number, both by their appearance and their conduct, shewed that they were collected from the lowest rank of indigence and depravity. With horrid imprecations they demanded bread and arms; they exclaimed with violence against the pusillanimity of the men, and threatened the lives of the whole committee, and particularly of M. Bailly and the marquis de la Fayette. Others penetrated the magazine of arms; and a third troop ascended the belfry, where they attempted to strangle the abbé Lefevre. In one of the halls two furies endeavoured to set fire to the public papers, but were happily prevented by Stanislaus Maillard, who had rendered himself so famous at the taking of the Bastille.

This young man, finding all endeavours to resist

the fury of the mob in vain, employed a new stratagem to preserve his country. He applied to the commanding officer for his authority; and having obtained it, he proceeded down the stairs of the Hotel de Ville, which were filled with women, and seizing a drum, which lay at the door, he offered to put himself at the head of the insurgents, the universal clamour of whom was to proceed to Versailles. By an unanimous shout of applause, Maillard was chosen captain of this turbulent troop; and by his authority the assembly was adjourned to the Champs Elysées. When arrived at this general rendezvous, their numbers amounted to upwards of eight thousand; and their first measure was to surround their chief, and to insist upon his leading them to the arsenal to equip themselves completely with arms. Fortunately he had authority enough to make himself heard, and to convince them that the arms had been removed from the arsenal; and he had even sufficient address to engage them to lay aside the weapons with which they had provided themselves, by representing to them that since their object was to supplicate the assembly for justice and for bread, they would operate more forcibly on the compassion of that body, by appearing as distressed petitioners, than with arms in their hands. They departed for Versailles about noon, preceded by a company of armed men, and guarded in the rear by the volunteers of the Bastille, whom Maillard had prepared for that purpose.

Unfortunately the fanaticism of the moment was communicated to the grenadiers. They not only declared, "that they could not turn their bayonets against the poor women who came to ask for bread," but intimated an inclination themselves to proceed to Versailles. Their spokesman declaimed loudly against the committee of subsistence, against the gardes-du-corps, and concluded, "that the people were miserable, and the source of the evil was at Versailles; that they must go and find out the king, and bring him to Paris." While the marquis de la Fayette reasoned, insisted, threatened, the tumult increased from all quarters; an immense crowd armed with sticks, pikes, guns, &c. rushed from the suburbs; and
though

though the national guard appeared not in the most tractable disposition, the mayor and municipality probably conceived it to be the only means of preventing mischief at Versailles, to permit their departure with their commander at their head. The marquis therefore received an order to depart for Versailles, and it was most cheerfully obeyed by the national guard.

The representatives of the nation, the majority of whom at least were totally unconscious of what was passing in Paris, were assembled on the 5th, in expectation of receiving back the constitutional articles sanctioned by the king. M. Mounier was then president. The sitting opened with reading a letter from the king, in which he pleaded "the difficulty of judging partially of the constitution; adding, however, that in the confidence that the new articles were calculated to establish the happiness and prosperity of the kingdom, he accepted them; but with one positive condition, that from the spirit of the whole system, the executive power should have its entire effect in the hands of the monarch. He concluded with observing, that though these constitutional articles did not all indiscriminately present him with the idea of perfection, yet he thought it proper to pay this respect to the wish of the assembly, and to the *alarming circumstances* which so strongly pressed him to desire the re-establishment of peace, order, and confidence."

This letter by no means proved acceptable to the assembly; the popular members marked in strong terms their disapprobation of this provisional assent, which only seemed to be given in consequence of the alarming circumstances of the nation. In the course of the debate many allusions were made to the indecent festival of the military, which disgraced Versailles on the preceding week. The insults offered to the nation and the national cockade were pointedly mentioned, as well as the menaces of the soldiery. A motion was at length made, that the guilty persons on that occasion should be delivered up to the rigour of the law, and that the accusations which had been now insinuated, should be formed into a criminal process. At these words the count de

Mirabeau rose. "I begin," said he, "by declaring that I consider the motion as supremely impolitic; nevertheless, if it is persisted in, I am ready to produce the details, and to sign them with my own hand. But this assembly must first declare that the person of the king *alone* is sacred, and that all other individuals, whatever their station, are equally subjects, and responsible to the laws." The prudence of the president and the assembly prevailed over the rashness of both parties. The motion was withdrawn; and it was decreed, that the president should wait on the king to request a simple acceptance of the constitutional articles. The assembly was frequently alarmed, during the course of this discussion, by repeated intelligence that all Paris was advancing to Versailles. Maillard conducted his tumultuous troop with some *mon* address. When he came within sight of Versailles, he arranged them in three ranks; and advertised them, that as they were entering a place where they were not expected, they must be careful, by the cheerfulness of their appearance, and the regularity of their conduct, to excite no alarms in the inhabitants. When arrived at the gate of the national assembly, Maillard undertook to speak for them. He entered attended by fifteen of the women, and persuaded the rest to wait for his return at the gate. His address had two objects: "to entreat that the assembly would devise some method of relieving the dreadful scarcity of bread which prevailed at Paris, and which he said had been occasioned by the interception of convoys, and by the monopolists: and to solicit that the gardes-du-corps might be ordered to assume the national cockade." He had scarcely finished, when a national cockade was presented to him on the part of the gardes-du-corps, as a proof that they had already adopted it. Maillard shewed it to the women, who immediately answered by loud acclamations of *Vive le roi, & MM. les gardes-du-corps!* A deputation was immediately appointed to wait on the king with this intelligence.

The king had gone that morning to take the diversion of shooting in the woods of Meudon; and in the midst of his sport intelligence was brought, "that a most formidable

dable band of women were on the way from Paris, exclaiming for bread." "Alas!" replied the king, "if I had it I should not wait to be asked." On his return, as soon as he mounted his horse, a chevalier of St. Louis fell upon his knees, and beseeched his majesty not to be afraid. "I never was afraid in my life," returned the king.

On his arrival at Versailles, he found the gardes-du-corps and the national guard under arms, and the palace surrounded by a mob. With the deputation from the assembly, five of the women were introduced to his majesty, who, on hearing of the distresses of the metropolis, was extremely moved, and the women sympathized in the feelings of the monarch. Louisa Chabry, a young woman who was employed in some of the branches of sculpture, and was only seventeen years of age, fainted. When she recovered, she desired leave to kiss the king's hand, who embraced her, and dismissed her with an elegant compliment. The women without doors could scarcely believe the report of those who had been admitted. In the mean time the king signed an order for bringing corn from Senlis and de Lagny, and for removing every obstacle which impeded the supply of Paris. This order was reported to the women, and they retired with acclamations of gratitude and joy.

This band of amazons was no sooner dispersed, than it was succeeded by another, headed by M. Brunout, a soldier of the Parisian guard, whom they had compelled to assume the unpleasant office of their leader. It is uncertain upon what provocation M. Savonieres, a lieutenant in the gardes du-corps, and two other officers, imprudently singled out Brunout from his company, and chased him along the ranks with their drawn sabres. The unhappy man was upon the point of being cut to pieces with their sabres, when one of the national guard of Versailles fired upon M. Savonieres, and broke his arm, and by that means saved the life of Brunout : and this incident is said to have greatly increased that unfortunate antipathy which the people afterwards manifested by atrocious acts of cruelty to the gardes-du-corps.

Whether there was indeed a concerted plan to carry off the king to Metz, or whether the court was really terrified by the accident which we have just recounted, it is impossible to determine; but the king's carriages were ordered to the gate of the castle which communicates with the orangery. The national guard of Versailles, however, who occupied the post, refused to permit them to pass; and the king himself was resolute in his determination to stay, declaring, "that he would rather perish, than that the blood of the people should be spilled in his quarrel."

The assembly continued sitting: but the session was tumultuous, and interrupted by the shouts and harangues of the Parisian fish-women, who filled the galleries*. A letter, however, from the king was read, deploring the scarcity of provisions, and recommending that effectual means might be taken to remedy that calamity; and in a little time after M. Mounier entered with the pure and simple assent of the king to the constitutional articles. The assembly was then adjourned; but the applause which was bestowed on its proceedings was mingled with affecting murmurs and complaints, the multitude crying out that they were actually starving, and that the majority of them had eaten nothing for upwards of twenty-four hours. The president, therefore, humanely ordered that provisions should be sought for in every part of the town, and the hall of the assembly was the scene of a miserable, scanty, and tumultuous banquet. Indeed, such was the dreadful famine, that the horse of one of the gardes-du-corps being killed in a tumult, he

* The superior wisdom of the American congress over the French assembly, was manifest in many instances, but in none more than in this, that their deliberations were all private, or at least in the presence of few auditors. The orators of the French assemblies, too eager for applause, imprudently opened their galleries or tribunes to the public. The least pernicious effect of this injudicious arrangement was, that the assembly became a mere theatre, and the members only actors, whose sole view was to catch the applause of the galleries. In the end the auditors became their masters, and used them as they deserved.

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was immediately roasted, and greedily devoured by the mob. Previous to the adjournment of the assembly, Maillard and a number of the women set off in carriages, provided by the king, for Paris, carrying with them the king's letter, and the resolves of the national assembly, in the hope of restoring peace to the metropolis.

Darkness and a deluge of rain added to the horrors of the night. The wretched multitudes who had travelled from Paris were exposed, almost famished, to the inclemencies of the weather in the open streets: within the castle all was trepidation; nothing was to be heard from without but imprecations, and the voice of enraged multitudes, demanding the lives of the queen and of the gardes-du-corps. Towards midnight, however, all appeared tolerably still and peaceable, when the beating of the drums, and the light of innumerable torches, announced the approach of the Parisian army. The marquis de la Fayette on his arrival, repaired to the royal closet, and informed the king of the whole proceedings of the day; a part of the national guards were distributed in posts agreeably to the orders of his majesty; the rest were entertained by the inhabitants of Versailles, or retired to lodge in the churches and public edifices, for the remainder of the night; and tranquillity appeared once more perfectly restored.

The troops of vagabonds who had accompanied Maillard, or who had followed the Parisian militia, were chiefly disposed of in the hall of the assembly, and in the great corps-de garde: and at about five in the morning, the marquis de la Fayette, after having visited all the posts, and found every thing perfectly quiet, retired to his chamber to write to the municipality of Paris, and perhaps in the hope of snatching a few hours repose.

The day began to break at about half past five; and at this period, crowds of women and other desperate persons, breathing vengeance and thirsting for blood, advanced to the castle, which, in the fatal security which the arrival of the Parisian militia inspired, was left unguarded in several places. Some of the iron gates were shut, and some left open. And immense crowd found
its

its way into the *cour des ministres*, and immediately proceeded to the royal gate, which was shut, and a number of the invaders attempted to scale it. Another troop of ruffians proceeded to the chapel court, and another to that of the princes, and by both these avenues penetrated into the royal court. Some hasty dispositions of defence were made by a M. Aguesseau; the gardes-du-corps were soon under arms, and one man was wounded by them in the arm, and another shot dead. The crowd immediately mounted the grand stair-case, where one of the gardes-du-corps, M. Miomandre, endeavoured to dissuade them from their attempt; but he narrowly escaped with his life. M. Tardivet du Repaire hastened to the queen's apartment, in order to prevent the entrance of the banditti; but he was assailed by thousands, and felled to the ground. A villain with a pike attempted to pierce him to the heart; but he had the good fortune to wrest the weapon from his hand, with which he parried the attacks of his enemies, and at length effected his escape. M. Miomandre in the mean time made his way to the queen's apartment. He opened the door, and cried out to a lady whom he saw in the inner chamber—"Save the queen, madam, her life is in danger; I am here alone against two thousand tigers." He shut the door; and after a few minutes resistance was desperately wounded with a pike, and left for dead; though he afterwards recovered.

The queen had been awaked a quarter of an hour before, by the clamours of the women who assembled upon the terrace; but her waiting-woman had satisfied her by saying, "that they were only the women of Paris, who she supposed, not being able to find a lodging, were walking about." But the tumult approaching, and becoming apparently more serious, she rose, dressed herself in haste, and ran to the king's apartment by a private passage. In her way she heard the noise of a pistol and a musket, which redoubled her terror. "My friends," said she to every person she met, "save me and my children." In the king's chamber she found the dauphin, who had been brought there by one of her women;

men; but the king was gone.—Awaked by the tumult, he had seen from a window the multitude pressing towards the great stair-case; and alarmed for the queen, he hastened to her apartment, and entered at one door, in the moment she had quitted it by the other. He returned without loss of time; and having with the queen brought the princess royal into the chamber, they prepared to face the multitude.

In the mean time the noise and tumult increased, and appeared at the very door of the chamber. Nothing was to be heard but the most dreadful exclamations, with violent and repeated blows against the outer door, a panel of which was broken. Nothing but instant death was expected by the royal company. Suddenly, however, the tumult seemed to cease—every thing was quiet; and, a moment after, a gentle tap was heard at the door. It was opened, and in an instant the apartments were filled with the Parisian guard. The officer who conducted them ordered them to ground their arms. “We come,” said he, “to save the king;” and turning to such of the *gardes-du-corps* as were in the apartments—“We will save you also, gentlemen; let us from this moment be united.”

Unfortunately, the national-guard arrived too late to prevent all the mischief. Two of the *gardes-du-corps* were murdered by the mob before the troops could be rallied, and their heads fixed on spikes, served as the standards of this detestable banditti. From the first moment of the alarm, the marquis de la Fayette had even exceeded his usual activity. He appeared in every quarter:—“Gentlemen,” said he to the Parisian soldiers, “I have pledged my word and honour to the king, that nothing belonging to him shall receive injury. If I break my word, I shall be no longer worthy to be your commander.” Captain Gondran, the officer who had driven the russians from the king’s apartment, was not less conspicuous for his activity. The Parisians forced their way in every part through the almost impenetrable mass—surrounded the *gardes-du-corps*, and placed them in safety under their own colours.

Plunder

Plunder is however commonly one great object of a mob. The banditti had already begun to strip the palace, and to throw the furniture to each other out of the windows. M. Gondran pursued them from place to place, till the castle was at length completely cleared. Expelled from the palace, they repaired to the stables; but here a sudden stop was put to their depredations by M. Doazon, a farmer-general, and captain of the Paris militia. The horses were all recovered, and brought back in safety to their stalls. Disappointed at length in every view, they departed in a body to Paris; and left Versailles entirely free, and under the protection of the national guard. The most generous expressions of kindness and gratitude took place, between the gardes-du-corps and the national guard. The former considered the others as their deliverers; while the latter evinced every inclination that they should in future form one united corps.

The royal family now ventured to shew themselves at a balcony, and received the most lively acclamations of respect from the soldiers and the people. But whether it had been planned by the popular party, or whether it was the immediate impulse of the multitude—but the former is most probable—at the first a single voice, or a few voices, exclaimed—"The king to Paris!" and this was instantly followed by an universal acclamation, enforcing the same demand. After some consultation with the marquis de la Fayette, the king addressed them—"You wish me to go to Paris—I will go, on the condition that I am to be accompanied by my wife and children." He was answered by reiterated acclamations of *Vive le roi!*

Before the departure of the king, the national assembly was convened; and, on the motion of M. Mirabeau, passed a solemn decree, "that the assembly was inseparable from the person of the king." A deputation of one hundred members was also appointed to accompany the king to Paris. During the preparations for the journey, the gardes-du-corps changed hats and swords with the grenadiers and national guards, and both they and

and the regiment of Flanders, desired leave to mix indiscriminately in the ranks. It was two o'clock in the afternoon before the procession set out. During the progress, all was gaiety and joy among the soldiers and the spectators; and such was the respect in which the French nation still held the name and person of their king, that the multitude were superstitiously persuaded that the royal presence would actually put an end to the famine*. On his arrival, the king was congratulated by the municipality, and declared his approbation of the loyalty which the city of Paris manifested. On this occasion he gave one proof, among several others which he had before given, that however he might be wrought upon by misrepresentation and evil counsels, his character was in the general neither deficient in good sense nor firmness. As they ascended the stairs of the Hotel de Ville, the marquis de la Fayette requested the king that he would either assure the people himself, or permit some other person to assure them in his name, that he would fix his abode in Paris. "I feel no objection," replied the monarch, "to fix my abode in my good city of Paris: but I have not yet formed any determination on the subject; and I will make no promise which I do not positively mean to fulfil."

* The popular exclamation was, as they proceeded along, "We are bringing the baker, the baker's wife, and the little journeyman."

C H A P. XXV.

*Effects of the French revolution upon the English court—
 The meeting of parliament—Dispute between Mr. Burke
 and Mr. Fox respecting the French revolution—Mr. Fox
 moves for the repeal of the corporation and test acts—
 Mr. Flood moves for a parliamentary reform—Small
 progress in Mr. Hastings's trial—Major Scott reprimanded by the speaker—Statement of the India affairs
 —Augmentation of the speaker's salary—Dr. Willis's
 pension—Supplies—Ways and means—Dispute with
 Spain respecting Nootka Sound—The dissolution of parliament—Affairs of France—Solemn assurance of the
 king in the assembly to be faithful to the new constitution
 —Abolition of the feudal system and titular distinctions—
 Grand confederation—Oath of the king.*

[A. D. 1789 to 1790.]

FROM those scenes of calamity and violence with which the last chapter closed, the reader will return with a serene but heartfelt pleasure to that state of peace and general happiness which Great Britain at this moment enjoyed. Happy period! when the history of our country afforded little either to gratify the curiosity of the idle or to interest the passions of the restless and turbulent. But in contemplating this scene of their domestic prosperity, Englishmen will have the unpleasing sensation of reflecting, that this envied calm, this luxurious tranquillity was soon interrupted through the obstinacy and ignorance of an imperious minister.

While the politicians in France, notwithstanding their innovating spirit, retained the ecclesiastical establishment and hereditary titles as pillars to the throne, and appeared to be forming a system bearing some similarity to the English government, this nation in general seemed to congratulate with sincerity its ancient rival upon the dawn of its liberty; but when they imprudently tore away those pillars, the court or ministry became suddenly alarmed, and began to pity and deplore the fate of the monarch. These fears

were

were considerably augmented by the loud exultations which a party in England, who had long been supposed to be tainted with a republican spirit, expressed at the rapid progress of gallic liberty. The first demonstration of this appeared on the occasion of an anniversary meeting of a whig association in the metropolis, known by the name of the revolution society, on the 5th of November, to celebrate the British revolution. Previous to the assembling of the members at the festive board, a sermon was preached by the celebrated Dr. Price to such as chose to attend at a chapel belonging to the dissenters in the Old Jewry. In this discourse the great doctrines of liberty were circulated with all that emphasis and energy which characterized the pen of that distinguished patriot.

Impressed with the sentiments contained in the discourse of the preacher, the society resolved to offer in a formal address, "their congratulation to the national assembly on the event of the late glorious revolution in France." This being transmitted by the chairman, earl Stanhope, to the duke de la Rochefoucault, and laid by the latter before the assembly, was received with loud acclamations. The archbishop of Aix, president of the national assembly, transmitted to lord Stanhope, in the most flattering manner, the vote of the assembly relative to the address, stating, "that the assembly was deeply affected with this extraordinary proof of esteem, and directing the president to express to the revolution society, the lively sensibility with which they had received an address, breathing those sentiments of humanity and universal benevolence, that ought to unite together in all countries of the world the true friends of liberty, and the happiness of mankind."

About this time the British press teemed with publications in favour of liberty, while the partizans of the ministry were openly exclaiming at its progress, and secretly endeavouring to undermine the edifice.

In the mean time, if common report is to be trusted, the British minister found himself by no means permanently established in his office, and as the possession of his place has ever been his primary object, nothing was to be omitted, however disgraceful it might appear in the page

of history, effectually to secure it. The puerile conduct of the minister, united to an insufferable arrogance, the common concomitant of little minds who rise suddenly and unexpectedly to greatness, had completely disgusted lord Thurlow, the old and confidential minister of the king. Lord Thurlow, though not a great statesman, was yet possessed of sufficient discernment to know and feel the entire incapacity of Mr. Pitt, and he held him in proportionable contempt. The king himself, it is said, had also some causes of disgust, and had expressed openly a strong predilection for the candour, frankness and great abilities of Mr. Fox; and had even insinuated a wish to place him in the ministry. To destroy completely this dangerous rival, was therefore the interest of the chancellor of the exchequer; to effect this, and to annihilate completely in the royal breast every favourable sentiment towards him, one only means was left; this was by raising against him the *cry* of republicanism; the French revolution afforded a fair opportunity; and if this could be done through the agency of a *reputed friend* of Mr. Fox, it must be the more effectual. We do not state all we have heard on the subject, but the succeeding transactions will cast a fuller light on the perfidy of the minister and his base instruments.

Such was the state of things at the close of the year 1789. The parliament was convened at Westminster on the 21st. of January, 1790.

The king's speech contained nothing remarkable. It slightly and ambiguously glanced on the affairs of France, in declaring "the internal situation of the different parts of Europe to have been productive of events which had engaged his majesty's most serious attention." But early indications appeared of the light in which the recent transactions in that kingdom were viewed by the court. Lord Valletort, in moving the address in the house of commons, took occasion to contrast the tranquil and prosperous situation of England with the anarchy and licentiousness of France, and to stigmatise the revolution in that kingdom as an event the most disastrous, and productive of consequences the most fatal
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which had ever taken place since the foundation of the monarchy. This language was highly applauded by the old prerogative phalanx, distinguished by the appellation of the king's friends.

In the debate which took place on the ninth of February, relative to the army estimates, Mr. Burke argued in favour of a reduction of the peace establishment, from the state of perfect security which the nation then enjoyed. "France," said he, "has hitherto been our first object in all considerations concerning the balance of power. But France is in a political light to be considered as *expunged* out of the *system of Europe*. Whether she could *ever* appear in it again, as a leading power, was not easy to determine: but at present he considered France as not *politically existing*; and most assuredly it would take much time to restore her to her former active existence. In a political view, France was low indeed; she had lost every thing, even to her name.

—Jacens ingens littore truncus,

Avolsunque humeris caput, et sine nomine corpus.

In one short summer they had completely pulled down to the ground their monarchy, their church, their nobility, their law and their army. They had made and recorded a sort of institute and digest of anarchy, called "a declaration of the rights of man," by which they systematically destroyed every hold of authority*."

Mr. Fox, notwithstanding his personal regard for Mr. Burke, thought it necessary, in justice to the rectitude and dignity of his own character, to declare "his total dissent from opinions so hostile to the general principles of liberty; and which he was grieved to hear from the lips of a man whom he loved and revered—by whose precepts he had been taught, by whose example he had been animated to engage in their defence. He vindicated the conduct of the French army in refusing to act against their fellow citizens, from the aspersions of Mr. Burke, who had charged them with abetting an abominable sedition

* Mr. Burke for his good services on this and other occasions, has since received from the minister a pension of 3,500l. per annum.

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Mr. Sheridan, with less personal respect, reprobated the political sentiments which had been advanced by Mr. Burke. He contended, that the mad outrages of a mob were an inadequate ground for branding the national assembly with being a bloody, ferocious, and tyrannical democracy, and that it was a libel upon that illustrious body to describe them in that manner. He defended the assembly for pursuing the course they had taken; it was, he observed, generally allowed that France had a right to expect a better constitution than that which she had overthrown. From whom were they to receive it? From the bounty of the monarch at the head of his courtiers, or from the patriotism of marshal Broglie at the head of the army? From the faint and feeble cries emitted from the dark dungeons of the Bastile, or from the influence and energy of that spirit which had laid the Bastile in ashes? The people, unhappily misguided as they were in particular instances, had however acted rightly in the accomplishment of their great object.” However agitated the house might be by this shock and conflict of opinions, Mr. Pitt preserved a cautious and politic silence as to the merits of the revolution which had taken place; he applauded, nevertheless, Mr. Burke for the zealous attachment he had displayed to the principles of the British constitution. The spirit by which the court was now actuated, was brought to appear from their conduct relative to the dissenters, who had signalized themselves by the exuberance of their joy at the late events in France. Encouraged by the small majority which appeared against them on Mr. Beaufoy’s motion for the repeal of the test act in the preceding session, they now renewed their application.

The ardour with which the contending parties supported the dispute on so trivial an occasion will excite the smile

of posterity. The dissenters exerted every nerve to procure the repeal of laws, which were reduced to a mere dead letter, and the penalties of which were never exacted; and the party of the church supported, with equal vehemence, two obsolete statutes, enacted in a state of society very different from the present, and the enforcement of which will probably never be required in any circumstances of the British nation. On the part of the dissenters, committees were held for the purpose of withholding their votes at the general election from such members of parliament as should shew themselves adverse to the repeal of such statutes as were held obnoxious to the cause of toleration. The apprehension of the established clergy were even more ridiculous than the zeal of the dissenters. The old exclamation of the church being in danger, was once more renewed, counter associations were formed, and resolutions passed with the most formal gravity, asserting the danger of the state, should a permission be issued by the legislature to common soldiers or excisemen, to exercise their respective employments without the solemn sanction of the sacramental test.

On the 2d of March, Mr. Fox introduced the motion for the repeal of the corporation and test acts: an able speech. The great principle on which he founded his argument was, that religious tests were justifiable only on a supposition, that men who entertained certain speculative opinions, would be led by these opinions to the commission of actions which might be pernicious to society. He contended, that neither the civil nor religious opinions of the dissenters, contained any thing contrary to sound morals; and that they had proved themselves, on several occasions, the zealous supporters of our constitution, and of his majesty's family, even when the high church party had been less loyal and less worthy of commendation. He censured, in strong terms, the interference of Dr. Horsley, bishop of St. David's, on the present occasion, and declared, that he always disapproved of political sermons, either by churchmen or dissenters.

The motion was opposed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Burke, who cautioned the house against entertaining any motion

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Mr. Sheridan, with less personal respect, reprobated the political sentiments which had been advanced by Mr. Burke. He contended, that the mad outrages of a mob were an inadequate ground for branding the national assembly with being a bloody, ferocious, and tyrannical democracy, and that it was a libel upon that illustrious body to describe them in that manner. He defended the assembly for pursuing the course they had taken ; it was, he observed, generally allowed that France had a right to expect a better constitution than that which she had overthrown. From whom were they to receive it ? From the bounty of the monarch at the head of his courtiers, or from the patriotism of marshal Broglie at the head of the army ? From the faint and feeble cries emitted from the dark dungeons of the Bastile, or from the influence and energy of that spirit which had laid the Bastile in ashes ? The people, unhappily misguided as they were in particular instances, had however acted rightly in the accomplishment of their great object.” However agitated the house might be by this shock and conflict of opinions, Mr. Pitt preserved a cautious and politic silence as to the merits of the revolution which had taken place ; he applauded, nevertheless, Mr. Burke for the zealous attachment he had displayed to the principles of the British constitution. The spirit by which the court was now actuated, was brought to appear from their conduct relative to the dissenters, who had signalized themselves by the exuberance of their joy at the late events in France. Encouraged by the small majority which appeared against them on Mr. Beaufoy’s motion for the repeal of the test act in the preceding session, they now renewed their application.

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of posterity. The dissenters exerted every nerve to procure the repeal of laws, which were reduced to a mere dead letter, and the penalties of which were never exacted; and the party of the church supported, with equal vehemence, two obsolete statutes, enacted in a state of society very different from the present, and the enforcement of which will probably never be required in any circumstances of the British nation. On the part of the dissenters, committees were held for the purpose of withholding their votes at the general election from such members of parliament as should shew themselves adverse to the repeal of such statutes as were held obnoxious to the cause of toleration. The apprehension of the established clergy were even more ridiculous than the zeal of the dissenters. The old exclamation of the church being in danger, was once more renewed, counter associations were formed, and resolutions passed with the most formal gravity, asserting the danger of the state, should a permission be issued by the legislature to common soldiers or excisemen, to exercise their respective employments without the solemn sanction of the sacramental test.

On the 2d of March, Mr. Fox introduced the motion for the repeal of the corporation and test acts in an able speech. The great principle on which he founded his argument was, that religious tests were justifiable only on a supposition, that men who entertained certain speculative opinions, would be led by these opinions to the commission of actions which might be pernicious to society. He contended, that neither the civil nor religious opinions of the dissenters, contained any thing contrary to sound morals; and that they had proved themselves, on several occasions, the zealous supporters of our constitution, and of his majesty's family, even when the high church party had been less loyal and less worthy of commendation. He censured, in strong terms, the interference of Dr. Horsley, bishop of St. David's, on the present occasion, and declared, that he always disapproved of political sermons, either by churchmen or dissenters.

The motion was opposed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Burke, who cautioned the house against entertaining any motion

upon mere abstract principles; toleration, they said, the dissenters were entitled to, and toleration they enjoyed in the amplest extent; but the indispensable necessity of a permanent church establishment, required that toleration should not be extended to equality. On the division, the numbers were, ayes 105, noes 294; so that the majority against the repeal had increased, since the last session, from 20 to 189 voices.

In consequence of the warmth of this discussion, the spirit of religious bigotry, prejudice, and animosity was revived throughout the kingdom in an extraordinary degree.

Almost immediately after the decision of the house upon the test laws, Mr. Flood, so long celebrated as a patriot and orator in the Irish house of commons, brought into the English parliament a plan of parliamentary reform, in conformity to which an additional number of representatives, to the amount of one hundred, was to be admitted into the legislative body, in a proportional ratio to the population of each county, by the election of the resident householders only. This bold and happy effort at reform was supported by the mover in a very eloquent and able speech. But it was vehemently opposed by Mr. Windham, the obsequious and devoted admirer of Mr. Burke. Mr. Pitt coincided in the reasonings of Mr. Windham respecting the impropriety of commencing the proposed reform at *that time*: but observed, that "at a more seasonable opportunity he would *most certainly* again submit his ideas upon the subject to the consideration of the house." Mr. Fox and Mr. Flood, perceiving the general sentiments of the house to be adverse to the motion, at length consented to withdraw the proposition.

The business relative to the abolition of the slave trade, proceeded with but little either of energy or spirit. Every artifice was used to protract it by the slave merchants and planters, and the whole session passed over in the hearing of evidence, and examination of witnesses.

The trial of Mr. Hastings still proceeded with a tardiness almost unprecedented. The trial was opened on a charge respecting presents, on the 16th of February; but

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the whole course of the session, the court sat only thirteen days. On the 11th of May, Mr. Burke submitted a proposal to the house of commons for authorising the managers to abandon a part of the charges, and to insist on so many of them only as might appear the most conducive to the obtaining of speedy and effectual justice; and the resolutions proposed by him on the subject, received the sanction of the house.

The intemperance of the parties concerned in the trial, produced in this session two unpleasant transactions. Mr. Burke, in the course of the prosecution, had charged a captain Williams with the murder of an Indian officer of rank of the name of Mustapha Khan, in the affair of the Begums of Oude; Williams, in his reply to this insinuation, asserted, that, in beheading him, he had only obeyed the orders of colonel Hannay, his commanding officer, who was directed by the nabob to put him to death. Captain Williams, therefore, petitioned the house that he might be brought to trial, to clear him from this imputation; but after some debate, the house agreed, that there was no existing law by which captain Williams could be tried.

While Mr. Burke laboured under this perplexity, he had the gratification to see major Scott, the avowed advocate of Mr. Hastings, publicly reprimanded by the speaker, on the 28th of May, for ascribing, in a libel published in a morning paper, the procrastination of the trial to the systematical artifices of the managers.

On the 31st of March, Mr. Dundas brought forward his annual statement of the debts and revenues of the East India company as required by the regulation act. Through the wise and equitable administration of lord Cornwallis, he said the revenues of Bengal had been advanced during the last year, without the aid of any new imposition, from one million eight hundred thousand pounds, to two millions one hundred and fifty thousand. In his despatch to the court of directors, dated August 2, 1789, his lordship says, "that agriculture and internal commerce have been gradually declining." And in his council-minute of September 18, 1789, he says, "I can safely

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safely assert, that *one third* of the company's territory is now a jungle, inhabited by *wild beasts*." In short, the whole tendency of his despatches went to prove the mismanagement of those who had preceded him.

Notwithstanding the overwhelming weight of the public burdens, the house of commons, in this their concluding session, evinced in two instances, their prodigal generosity. The first was an increase of their speaker's salary from three thousand to six thousand per annum, which was voted with only the dissentient voice of the patriotic Mr. Hussey, who opposed the motion, as an unnecessary profusion of the public money.

The other instance was the granting of a pension to Dr. Willis and his family, of one thousand pounds per annum, for the term of twenty one years, as a compensation for his attendance on his majesty in his late illness.

When the chancellor of the exchequer laid the state of the public finances before the house, he observed, "that he had the consolation to inform the public, that the receipt of the exchequer had surpassed that of the year preceding in the sum of half a million. The supplies were estimated at eleven millions nine hundred and thirty one thousand two hundred and one pounds; and the ways and means, including six millions and a half of exchequer bills, were calculated at twelve millions four hundred and ninety six thousand, and eighty eight pounds.

Mr. Sheridan, in replying to this statement, agreed, that the commerce of Great Britain was considerably increased, but strongly contended, that our *expenditure* was greater than our *income*.

The surprise of the nation was excited towards the close of the session by a royal message, which the minister delivered on the fifth of May, announcing a state of things which bore the undisguised and menacing aspect of war. A ridiculous and truly frivolous dispute had arisen between the courts of London and Madrid relative to a settlement which some British adventurers had established on that part of the north-west coast of America called Nootka, or Prince William's Sound. When the celebrated aptain Cook touched here in his last voyage, the British navigators

navigators purchased a number of valuable furs, for which they afterwards found a very profitable market in China. In consequence of this success, some East India merchants in 1788, were induced to form a settlement there; for the effecting of which, they sent out Mr. Mears, who was a principal in the concern, to purchase a spot of ground from one of the chiefs of the country, on which he built a house, and surrounded it with a breast-work for protection. Soon after some small Spanish ships of war arrived in the same harbour from Mexico. The commander, Don Martinez, proceeded to seize the *Iphigenia*, one of the English vessels, and conveyed the officers and men on board the Spanish ships, where they were put in irons and otherwise ill treated. At the same time, Don Martinez took possession of the lands and buildings which had been held by the settlers, and declared that all the lands comprised between cape Hernand, the sixtieth degree of north latitude, were the actual property of his catholic majesty.

The circumstance was first made known to the British ministers by the Spanish ambassador, then resident in London, at the same time urging his master's claim to the exclusive commerce of those parts of America as founded on the faith of treaties.

The British minister demanded the restoration of the vessels previous to all discussion. The court of Madrid condescended so far as to request that the whole matter might be peaceably referred to the decision of any one crowned head in Europe, leaving to his Britannic majesty himself to name the royal personage by whom it was to be decided. Mr. Pitt, however, impelled by the puerile vanity of appearing in the character of a war-minister, determined to arm before he condescended to negotiate.

On the statement of these facts in the royal message, the house unanimously joined in an address to the king, assuring him of their determination to afford him the most zealous and affectionate support, in such measures as were requisite for maintaining the dignity of his majesty's crown. A vote of credit passed the house for the sum of one million; and vigorous military and naval preparations

tions were made in both kingdoms, in the contemplation of an immediate war.

Happily, the wisdom or the weakness of Spain prevented that effusion of blood, and those heavy calamities in which the pride and rashness of the British ministers were preparing to involve mankind. The Spanish ministry, after some ineffectual endeavours to bring the matter to a reference, conceded to the full demands of Great Britain; but what is most singular in this transaction is, that the trade to Nootka, for which the immense expence of **FOUR MILLIONS** was incurred, has never been thought worth reviving, nor could it at any time have been worth the expence of 100l. to the nation. What is more extraordinary, a foreign ambassador then resident in London is said to have waited on Mr. Pitt to dissuade him from putting the nation to the expence of the armament, assuring him that he would engage to settle the dispute to his entire satisfaction at the moderate expence of forty guineas, the current expences of a messenger to Madrid.

On the 10th of June, while the Spanish dispute was yet pending, his majesty put an end to the session; and on the day following, the parliament, which had been assembled in 1784, was dissolved by proclamation.

In relating the principal transactions of the French revolution in the last chapter, we concluded with the king's compulsive removal from Versailles to Paris. From that period, no marked opposition to the will of the nation appeared in the monarch; and by seeming cheerfully to acquiesce in the successive decrees of the assembly, he had recovered what is at all times difficult to regain—*lost confidence*.

In February 1790, in a speech delivered on a solemn occasion to the assembly, the king said, “let us give ourselves up to the hopes that we ought to conceive. Continue your labours. Let it be known that your monarch applauds them. I should have many losses to recount, but I find my happiness in that of the nation. From the bottom of my heart I do express this sentiment. I will maintain the constitution with my whole power. May this day, in which your monarch comes to re-unite him-
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self to you, effect in like manner the re-union of all!" Upon this assurance of his fidelity to the new form of government, the deputies pronounced the civic oath, and the example was followed by the whole city of Paris.

On the 24th of the same month, the assembly passed a decree for abolishing the feudal power and all titular distinctions; and on the 14th of July the French nation held a general confederation in the Champs de Mars in the city of Paris, with the greatest order, magnificence and solemnity, at which the king attended, and pronounced in the midst of his people, "I, king of the French, swear to the nation, to employ all power delegated to me by the constitutional law of the state, to maintain the constitution, and to put the laws in execution."

CHAP. XXVI.

Party differences in England respecting the French revolution—The new parliament meet—The convention with Spain ratified by both houses—Unclaimed dividends—Disputes in the commons whether the new parliament could proceed in the impeachment against Warren Hastings—The Indian war—Bill passed for the relief of English catholics—Slave trade—Bill for the government of Canada—Breach of friendship between Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox—Quarrel between England and Russia—Message from his majesty on that subject—Armament voted—Supplies, ways and means—His majesty terminates the session—Rejoicings in England on the anniversary of the French revolution—Riots at Birmingham—The flight of the King of France—His return—His acceptance of the new constitution—The constituent assembly dissolves itself.

[A. D. 1790 to 1791.]

DURING the recess of the British parliament, the French revolution was commemorated in various parts of England with such festivity and cordial congratulation, as excited the apprehensions and the resentment of many friends of ministry. Among the foremost of its opponents, was Mr. Burke, who had a little time before uttered furious invectives against the French revolution in the house of commons. Not satisfied, however, with this testimony of disapprobation, he proceeded to publish a book, entitled “*Reflections on the French Revolution*,” written with great eloquence and energy of declamation.

The principal object of this treatise, was to place that revolution in an odious and abominable light, as an event to be deplored, detested, and deprecated. And in an appendix, he in a very singular style invited and exhorted all christian princes to make, what he styles, “*a common cause with a just prince, dethroned by rebels and traitors.*” From the date of the publication of Mr. Burke, the nation became unfortunately divided into two violent and
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openly hostile parties. This extraordinary production gave rise to many replies, of which the most eloquent was that of Mr. Mackintosh, but the most remarkable was that written by Thomas Paine, the author of the famous pamphlet, entitled *Common Sense*, which by its almost magical effect on the minds of the people of America, at an important crisis, led the way for the declaration of independency. His present work, *Rights of Man*, was written with no less power of intellect, and force of language; and though very exceptionable in many parts, made a deep impression on the public mind.

The king, in his opening speech to the new parliament which assembled on the 25th of November, 1790, signified "his satisfaction that the differences with Spain were brought to an amicable determination. He observed, that since the last session of parliament, a foundation had been laid for a pacification between Austria and the Porte—that a separate peace had actually taken place between Russia and Sweden; but that the war between Russia and the Porte still continued. The principles upon which I have hitherto acted, said the monarch, (in a style of benevolence which reflected great honour on his character) will make me always desirous of employing the weight and influence of this country in contributing to the restoration of *general tranquillity*."

The terms of the convention with Spain were approved and ratified in both houses by great majorities—but not unanimously; the conduct of ministers in that business, was reprobated in the lower house by Mr. Grey, and in the upper by the marquis of Lansdowne.

To defray the expence of the armament, Mr. Pitt proposed various temporary taxes, which he supposed would discharge the incumbrance in four years, with the assistance of five hundred thousand pounds, which he had in contemplation to take from the *unclaimed dividends* lying in the bank of England, the amount of which he estimated at six hundred and sixty thousand pounds. This latter proposition excited a just alarm in all the great chartered companies. It was ably opposed in the house by Mr. Fox, Mr. Thornton, a bank director,

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and Mr. Samuel Whitbread, recently returned as member for the borough of Bedford—a young man of great accomplishments, and of a noble and ingenuous disposition. It was urged by these gentlemen, “that agreeably to the terms of the original contract, between the government and the public creditors, the directors of the bank are constituted trustees for the public, and that money once deposited in the bank, ought to remain there, a sacred deposit, till it is claimed by the private individuals to whom it appertains. After much hesitation and contest, the minister consented, by way of compromise, to accept a loan of five hundred thousand pounds from the bank, without interest, so long as a floating balance to that amount should remain in the hands of the cashier.

On the 17th of December, Mr. Burke moved, “that an impeachment by this house, in the name of the commons of Great Britain, against Warren Hastings, esq. for high crimes and misdemeanors, is still pending.” This motion brought on the discussion of the great constitutional question, “whether an impeachment exhibited by one house of commons against an officer of the state, could be tried and continued by a new parliament.” The entire corps of lawyers, with the justly celebrated Mr. Erskine at their head, contended, that in consequence of the dissolution of parliament, the impeachment against Mr. Hastings had *abated*. The speaker, after long and uninteresting debates, rose to deliver his opinion upon this great question, in the decision of which, the honour, dignity, and authority of the house, was so deeply involved. “If, says he, the maxims just laid down by the lawyers were admitted as just, it would follow, that the impeachment of a corrupt and profligate minister might, by the insidious intervention of the prerogative, at any time be rendered nugatory and abortive. In the view of the constitution, and even by the forms of parliament, the impeachment is preferred not by the house of commons merely, but by all the commons of England; and the house can be considered in relation to the prosecution, as no more than the agents and attorneys of

of the people at large. A second house of commons therefore, though certainly possessing a discretionary power of dropping the prosecution, if upon due consideration they are convinced that it does not rest upon a just foundation, are as certainly at full liberty to proceed in it, if in their judgment, conducive to the safety or the interest of the state." The speaker then proceeded to quote precedents in support of his opinion. He dwelt with great ability upon such as had occurred during and since the reign of Charles the second. In the famous case of Lord Danby, (A. D. 1679) the parliament was dissolved; for the purpose of screening the minister from the effects of the impeachment when actually pending against him. But the next parliament understood their business too well to make the slightest concession on this important constitutional point. And in compliance with the claim of the commons, the house of peers, March 19th 1678--9, *resolved*, "that the dissolution of the last parliament doth not alter the state of the impeachment of the earl of Danby and the lords accused as parties in the popish plot, brought up by the commons in that parliament." He also instanced the impeachment of the same nobleman in 1695, when he was duke of Leeds, laid on grounds totally distinct from the former; and this impeachment, notwithstanding the reversal of 1685, continued during several successive parliaments, though for the most part in an almost dormant state, for no less than six years; till on the 24th of June, 1701, the house of lords resolved, "that articles having been exhibited against the duke of Leeds, to which he had answered, and the *commons not prosecuting*, the impeachment and articles should be dismissed."

After the speaker had supported his doctrine by several other precedents, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and the most eminent parliamentary authorities readily expressed their concurrence. The motion of Mr. Erskine for a *search* into precedents, was negatived by a majority of 143 to 30 voices, and the original motion of Mr. Burke triumphantly carried without a division.

The house of lords, on the contrary, appointed a committee

mittee to search into precedents, which caused a suspension of the trial till nearly the conclusion of the session.

The next important business that engaged the attention of the British legislature, was the Indian war. Mr. Cox Hippesley, member for Sudbury in Suffolk, undertook to evince to the house of commons on the 22d of December, the injustice and evil policy of a measure, which he conceived ruinous to the finances, and indeed to all the best interests in the kingdom: his exertions, however, before the Christmas recess, produced nothing more than the laying before the house, copies of the correspondence relative to the attack of Tippoo Sultan, on the lines of Travancore.

A. D. 1791. On the 28th of February, he followed up his former motion, in which he was ably supported by Mr. Francis, Mr. Fox, and major Maitland. But the parliamentary influence of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas. was not only powerful enough to negative the motion, but to procure three resolutions of the house, on the 2nd of March following, approving of the Indian war and the conduct of lord Cornwallis. In the house of lords, the triumph of Ministers on this subject was equally great, by obtaining similar resolutions.

On the 21st of February, Mr. Mitford, a lawyer, moved, with the previous sanction and approbation of government, for a bill to relieve the English catholics from the legal penalties then existing, and in force against them. The proposed act of toleration, however, was confined to such of the catholics, as should subscribe a certain declaration or *protest* against the assumed authority of the Pope, &c. drawn up in terms to which it could scarcely be expected that the majority of catholics could conscientiously assent. Mr. Fox objected to the bill for its not being more general. "Let the statute book," said he, "be revised, and strike out all those laws which attach penalties to mere opinions." The bill passed with little opposition, but it was regarded by the dissenters as drawing a mischievous line of distinction between the protesting and non-protesting catholics, neither of whom were chargeable with, or suspected of the slightest tincture of

of disloyalty to the state. In the course of the session, Mr. Fox, ever attentive to the cause of liberty, moved for a bill to ascertain the rights of juries, in the matter of libel, but as the famous bill was then postponed, and more largely discussed at an ensuing period, we reserve a further account of it till a future time.

The evidence on the slave trade being at length closed, Mr. Wilberforce (April 18) brought forward his long expected motion of abolition, which he introduced with a copious and masterly display of the arguments in favour of that measure. The crimes and villainies to which this horrid traffic had given rise, were detailed with a minuteness, which placed not merely the persons actually concerned, but human nature itself, in a light the most degrading and detestable. And the mover remarked with all the eloquence of feeling and of truth, that the history of this commerce was written in characters of blood. He concluded his speech, with moving "for a bill to prevent the farther importation of African negroes into the British colonies;" but the house negatived the proposed bill, by a majority of seventy-five voices.

In pursuance of an intimation in his majesty's speech, Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in a bill, "to repeal certain parts of the act, respecting the government of Canada, passed in the 14th year of his majesty's reign; and to enact farther provisions for the better government thereof." By the proposed bill, the province was divided into two distinct governments, by the appellations of upper and lower Canada; councils nominated by the sovereign, and houses of assembly chosen by the people, were established in each. The habeas corpus act was asserted as a fundamental law of their constitution; and by a very important and admirable clause, the British parliament were restrained from imposing any taxes whatever, but such as might be necessary for the regulation of trade and commerce, and to guard against the abuse of this power, the produce of such taxes were to be at the disposal of the respective provincial legislatures. Several parts of this bill were generally allowed to be excellent, but some clauses were opposed by Mr. Fox, as

militating against the bulwark of liberty, a *fair representation*. That representatives should be elected for seven years, he reprobated as inconsistent with that control, which the constitution ought always to have over them. Another strong ground of objection with Mr. Fox, was, that the legislative councils were unlimited as to numbers, by any other restriction than the pleasure of the king; to whom a power was also reserved of annexing certain honorary and titular distinctions, to an hereditary right of sitting in council. As to hereditary honours, he saw "no good reason why they should be introduced into Canada, unless it was, that Canada having been formerly a French colony, there might be an opportunity of reviving those titles of honour, the extinction of which some gentlemen so much deplored; and to revive in the West that spirit of chivalry, which had fallen so much into disgrace in France."

Such expressions as these, however incidental, at a moment when *aristocrat* and *democrat* were blended with the most common phraseology of the people, could hardly fail of exciting the irascible powers of Mr. Burke, who had professedly enlisted under the hallowed banners of ancient chivalry. He accordingly, on the 6th of May, on the re-commitment of the bill, rose, and after defending its general principle, introduced a most violent invective against the new constitution and government of France. Mr. Fox repelled the attack, by defending his former sentiments relative to the French revolution; and repeated, "that he thought it upon the whole, one of the most glorious events in the history of mankind, and that he could not help rejoicing at the success of a revolution, resting upon the same basis with our own, the immutable and unalienable rights of man." At length by a series of exasperating expressions, these two celebrated orators and legislators came to an open rupture in the midst of that assembly, where they had so often united their argumentative powers, to expose the corruption of a minister, and the increasing influence of the crown.

Mr. Burke observed, "that he had differed on many occasions from Mr. Fox, but there had been no loss of friendship

friendship between them ; “ but there was something in the *accursed* French constitution that envenomed every thing.” Mr. Fox on hearing this, interrupted him, saying, “ there was no loss of friendship.”

Mr. Burke replied, “ *there was*—he knew the *price* of his conduct ; he had done his duty, and their friendship *was* at an *end*.”

Mr. Fox, on whom the attention of the house was now fixed, rose to reply, but his feelings were too powerful for utterance, and involuntary tears were observed to flow down his cheek. After a profound silence had pervaded the house for some time, Mr. Fox, recovering himself, said, “ that he must still call him his friend, for he could not so easily consent to relinquish and dissolve that intimate connection which had for twenty-five years subsisted between them. He hoped Mr. Burke would think on past times, and whatever expressions of his had caused the offence, that he would at least believe, such was not his intention.” But these concessions, however, appeared to make no impression on Mr. Burke, and a schism from that day, took place in the politics of the opposition party, which produced very important consequences.

About this time, the pride and puerile vanity of Mr. Pitt, displayed itself so eminently in a quarrel with Russia, as to give more dissatisfaction to the public at large, than any measure of his administration. The courts of London and Berlin, signified to the empress of Russia their *pleasure*, that an end should be put to the war then raging between her and the Ottoman empire. The empress replied with equal haughtiness, “ that she would make peace and war with whom she pleased, without the intervention of any foreign power.” Conceiving it prudent, however, not to provoke the resentment of these self-created arbitrators too far, she agreed to a conference, at which her willingness to conclude a peace with Turkey was announced, on condition of retaining the country eastward of the Neister, which was a waste tract of country, valuable only for the security it afforded to her former acquisitions, and for including within its limits the
strong

strong and important fortrefs of Oczakow. This being peremptorily refused, the empress broke off the conference, and determined to prosecute the war.

Mr. Pitt, on the 28th of March, delivered a message to the house of commons from his majesty, importing, "that the endeavours which he had used in conjunction with his allies to effect a pacification, not having proved successful, his majesty judged it requisite, in order to add weight to his representation, to make some farther augmentation to his naval force."

The address was opposed with the whole strength and energy of opposition, with Mr. Fox at their head; it was however, carried by 228 to 135 voices.

The matter was amply discussed several times in both houses, and the armament voted; but the unpopularity of the war without doors, and the growing consequence of opposition, induced administration to give up the point respecting Oczakow, and a treaty of peace between Russia and the Porte, was signed the 11th of August, after an immense expenditure on the part of ministry, in a useless armament.

In the course of the preceding session, a considerable difference having existed relative to the supposed state of the finances, a select committee of nine persons chosen by ballot, was appointed in April for the purpose of producing an accurate report, sufficiently early in the session, to meet the opening of the minister's budget on the 18th of May.

In stating the articles of expenditure, and of ways and means for the current year, Mr. Pitt desired them to be kept entirely separate from the expences of the armament on the dispute with Spain, which had been previously provided for. In this case, the sum total of the supplies was 5,728,000*l*. The total of ways and means for raising that supply, was 5,734,471*l*. Mr. Pitt declined going into any general discussion of the state of the finances, since the committee for that purpose had so ably performed that service. Mr. Sheridan with great industry and ingenuity, exhibited to the house of commons a scheme, comprehending forty resolutions for their approbation,
chiefly

chiefly tending to shew that the state of the finances given in to the house by the select committee, and by Mr. Pitt, was inaccurate, fallacious, and calculated to deceive the people respecting the real state of the national debt and public revenue. But almost all these resolutions were rejected, and this session of parliament was terminated on the 10th of June 1791, his majesty expressing his perfect satisfaction at the zeal with which the two houses had applied themselves to the consideration of the different objects which he had recommended to their attention.

The difference of sentiment which prevailed in Great Britain, respecting the French revolution, has already been noticed. In most of the larger towns in the nation, associations had been formed for the celebration of that event, by anniversary dinners on the 14th of July. Among others, the friends of French liberty in the populous town of Birmingham, assembled for that purpose.

The company, during the dinner, at an hotel in the town, were insulted by a furious mob without, shouting, with the occasional intermixture of horrid imprecations, *church and king*. At five o'clock the association dispersed, after the windows of the hotel had been broken by the mob, who seemed then inclined to separate, but incited and inflamed anew by their leaders, they bent their course to the chapel where Dr. Priestley usually officiated, which they set on fire, and afterwards proceeded to the old meeting, and demolished it in the same manner. At ten o'clock, the mob, now rendered actually insane with rage, and intoxicated with liquor, went to the residence of Dr. Priestley, about a mile distant from the town. Happily the family had notice just sufficient to effect their escape; but the house, furniture, library, and philosophical apparatus, were set on fire and destroyed with the rage of vandals. The four following days were employed in the demolition of the elegant houses and villas in the town and its vicinity, belonging to those persons who had chiefly distinguished themselves by their attachment to the religious principles of the dissenters, and particularly of the grand heresiarch, Dr. Priestley.

During this time, the magistrates of the place, who were

were suspected of conniving at the commencement of the riot, were struck with horror and consternation, but no effectual effort was made to check these infamous proceedings, till the arrival, on the Sunday evening, of three troops of dragoons from Nottingham, in a short time after which, re-inforcements daily arriving, order and tranquillity were perfectly restored. Many of the rioters were taken into custody and brought to trial, but two only were capitally punished. Dr. Priestley some time afterwards, recovered in a court of justice a considerable sum of money as a compensation for the damages which he had sustained, but as several of the articles destroyed, were of a nature which made it extremely difficult for a jury to form an exact estimate of such as manuscripts, and a philosophical apparatus, it was said that the sum granted was inadequate to the loss.

The affairs of France at this time appeared to increase in magnitude and importance. The flight of the royal family, the subsequent acceptance of the new constitution by the king, and the spontaneous dissolution of the constituent assembly, were the most prominent events of the year 1791.

On the night of the 20th of June, the king, queen, madame Elizabeth, sister to the king, and the whole of the royal family, fled from the castle of the Thuilleries.

If a test had been wanting of the spirit and patriotism of the nation, none could be devised so satisfactory as this. The assembly received the news with a calmness and dignity, sufficient almost to discountenance opposition. Their first care was the public safety and tranquility. They committed to the ministers the execution of the laws, and the other political functions of the king. A new oath of fidelity to the nation was prescribed to the military. Couriers were dispatched to all the different parts of the kingdom, with orders to stop the fugitives, if possible, and to recommend the preservation of peace and good order. After these precautions, the assembly, with unparalleled calmness, resumed their ordinary labours, and proceeded to the discussion of the penal code.

Among the people, the first impulse was a combined
emotion

emotion of consternation, surprise, and indignation. The king's arms and effigies were taken down and broken by the people of Paris. A proclamation from the assembly, however, soon restored order. The national guard assembled; deputations from different bodies appeared at the bar of the assembly, with the strongest and most firm professions of patriotism and obedience.

Though the majority of the nation, however, thus evinced its attachment to the revolution, the flight of the king was viewed in very different lights, according as the different parties felt their particular prejudices affected by the event. At the first of the revolution, two parties only divided the mass of the people; the friends of privileges and aristocracy, and the friends of liberty: but the latter had since divided and a party more dangerous to the new constitution than even the aristocracy themselves had started up; a party, who, in quest of ideal perfection, are never satisfied with any established form of government; but who were planning Utopian republics, instead of promoting the peace and industry of a people, and the stability of the government, which are the only circumstances that can give greatness or prosperity to a nation.

To the republican party the departure of the king was a matter of triumph: their love of change was now likely to meet at least a present gratification; they enlarged upon the absurdity of a government which enabled an individual to throw the whole state into confusion: they represented the king as a perjured monster, whose patriotism and love for his people would presently be evinced by his entering France at the head of hostile armies, to ravage the country, and to drench it in blood. The loss of authority, they stated, must be ever, to him who once possessed it, a subject of regret; and they exhorted the lovers of liberty, even if the king's flight should be prevented, to make use of the opportunity to get rid of a natural enemy.

The more temperate and sounder thinkers saw the matter in a very different point of view. The majority of them preferred a limited monarchy, as at least the most expedient form of government, and considered it as absurd in a nation enjoying perfect liberty, to dispute about
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the mode or form in which it should be administered. They considered, that even if the republican form was preferable, custom and habit had inured the French to monarchy, and their strongest prejudices inclined them to support it: that the nation was not in a state to endure the shock of a second revolution. They therefore contemplated it as the happiest event that could occur, should the king by any fortunate chance be restored; and foresaw a train of the most formidable evils threatening the kingdom and the people, should he fall into the hands of their enemies.

These disasters were happily prevented by the patriotism, vigilance, and good conduct of two obscure individuals. To favour their escape, the royal family had obtained a passport through the medium of the Russian ambassador, in the name of a baroness de Kortz, with her suite, as travelling to Frankfort. They travelled in the most private manner till they found themselves at a considerable distance from the capital, when they were furnished by Bouille with detachments of dragoons, under the pretence of guarding some treasure for the pay of the soldiers. They proceeded without interruption for 156 miles, and were but a few leagues from the frontiers when they were arrested. At St. Menchoud, the post-master, a M. Drouet, had formerly been a dragoon in the regiment of Conde.—He instantly recognised the queen, and was forcibly attracted by the resemblance of the king to his portrait on the assignat of fifty livres. He was confirmed in his suspicions, on seeing the detachment of dragoons relieved by a detachment of hussars, and determined to stop them; but, being alone was prudent enough not to expose himself to the soldiers. He suffered the carriage to pass, but mounted a swift horse, and took a cross-road to Varennes which was their next stage. He communicated his suspicions to the post-master there, who had also formerly been a dragoon; and they concluded that the only mode of effecting their purpose was to barricade the street and bridge over which the carriages must necessarily pass. Fortunately, on the bridge there stood at the moment a carriage loaded with furniture; they overset it, and called together

together the mayor, the procureur de la commune, and the commandant of the national guard, and in a few minutes the number of the patriots was increased to eight men. The commandant and the procureur approached the principal carriage, and asked the names of the travellers. The queen petulantly answered, they were in haste, and produced the passport, which was thought a sufficient warrant by several persons; but the post-masters combated the opinion, on the ground of its not being countersigned by the president of the national assembly: and asked why a Russian baroness should be escorted by the military of France; It was determined therefore to stop the travellers; and as they entered the house of the procureur, the king throwing off his disguise resumed his dignity.—“I am your king, it is true,” said he: “these are my wife and children. I charge you to treat us with that respect which the French nation have always manifested towards their sovereign.”

The national guard now arrived in considerable numbers, and at the same moment the hussars, who endeavoured sword in hand to force the house where the king was; but were answered by the national guard, that they should never carry him off alive. The commandant of the national guard had placed at each end of the street two field-pieces, which however were not charged; but they were sufficient to intimidate the hussars, who, upon the commandant ordering the artillery-men to their posts with their matches in their hands, relinquished their object, and quietly surrendered the king to the custody of the national guard.

The news of these transactions was received by the assembly with inexpressible satisfaction. The perjured Bouille was suspended from his functions; and orders were given for arresting him, and all who appeared to be concerned in the flight of the king; but Bouille evaded for the present the axe of justice, by flying the kingdom. The assembly next appointed two commissioners to examine the inferior agents of the king's flight; and three commissioners, Messrs. Tronchet, d'André, and Duport,

were appointed to receive the declaration of the king and queen.

The royal family were escorted to Paris by a considerable body of the national guard, who increased in numbers as they approached the metropolis. Messrs. Barnave, Pethion, and Latour Maubourg had been dispatched to Varennes for the purpose of accompanying them back to Paris; and public tranquillity was so well preserved, that they entered the Thuilleries on the 25th without any disturbance, and with no apparent inconvenience but the fatigue of the journey. On the 27th the commissioners waited on the king and queen to receive their declaration. The king persisted in the assertion that he had made from the first, "that he had no intention of leaving the kingdom, and meant only to fix at Montmedi, which is a fortified town, till the vigour of government should in some degree be restored, and the constitution settled. A further reason for preferring this as the place of his residence, was, he added, that in case of any disturbance on the frontiers he might be ready to present himself in the post of danger, and to prevent insurrection. His reasons for quitting Paris, he declared to be the insults to which he was liable there, and the inflammatory publications which were daily produced, particularly against the queen, which rendered him apprehensive for her safety still more than for his own in the metropolis." The declaration of the queen rested entirely on the plea, "that as the king had determined to remove himself and family, it was impossible that she could admit the thought of voluntarily parting from him and her children."

Monsieur and Madame, who had taken a different road, were more successful in effecting their escape, and arrived safe at Brussels on the 23d.

The necessity of completing the fabric of the constitution became now more than ever apparent, and the assembly laboured incessantly on the municipal code and the organization of the army. In the mean time every precaution was taken to preserve the peace of the kingdom; and a decree was passed, the substance of which was, that
such

such of the emigrants as did not return within two months should be subjected to triple taxes for the year 1791.

The flight of the king seemed indeed the signal for the emigrants to commence their hostile proceedings. M. Cazalés and some others of the violent aristocratic party sent in their resignations to the national assembly; troops were levied on the frontiers in the king's name, and many of the former officers of the royal regiments exerted themselves to seduce the soldiers from their allegiance by promises of advancement and high rewards; their attempts, however, were in general without success; a circumstance which has not been adverted to by those who suppose the attachment of the French soldiery to the revolution to have been entirely venal. As these levies were made in the name of the king, he thought it proper formally to disavow them, which he did in a letter to the national assembly dated the 7th of July.

The return of the king appeared to make little alteration in the designs of the sovereigns who were confederated against France. Spain, indeed, whose political interests are diametrically opposite to a rupture with France, renewed on this occasion its professions of amity. The other courts kept still at a distance, and the German frontier was crowded with troops, and every where engaged in military preparations.

France however still continued in too united a state to warrant any immediate enterprise against her. Addresses breathing the strongest professions of loyalty and attachment to the constitution poured in from every quarter. Foreigners resident in France seemed solicitous of the honour of being classed among her citizens. Among these it would be unpardonable not to mention particularly general Luckner. This celebrated veteran, who had renounced his German origin for the privileges of a Frenchman, embraced the opportunity of testifying his wish to conquer or die in the service of liberty and the constitution. The conduct of the assembly was not unworthy the confidence which the nation seemed to place in its virtue and patriotism. Calmness, dignity and moderation characterised its proceedings at this period.—In
opposition

opposition to the violent republicans the legislature tenaciously adhered to the constitutional decree concerning the inviolability of the king's person. Even the emigrants were treated with a degree of indulgence : the prince de Conde himself, though professedly in a state of war with his country; did not experience either haste or severity from the assembly. M. Duveyrier was sent as envoy to him and the other princes, to solicit their return to the enjoyment of happiness and security in the bosom of their country ; but this ambassador of peace was imprisoned, and insulted in the most barbarous manner.

The unanimity which prevailed throughout France, from the time of the king's return till his acceptance of the constitution, was however interrupted by a short but disgraceful riot at Paris. Several efforts had been made by ill disposed persons, supposed to be in the pay of the emigrants, or of the hostile princes, to disturb the public tranquillity, by circulating lists of members of the assembly who were reported to be bribed to betray their trust, and other insidious manœuvres. These efforts, however, all proved abortive till the morning of the 17th of July, when the magistrates were alarmed by the report that a large body of seditious persons were about to assemble in the Champ de Mars. Two of the magistrates were sent to the suburb of St. Antoine, where they had the satisfaction to find that every thing was quiet. At eleven o'clock intelligence was brought, that in the quarter of Gros-Caillou two persons had been murdered : three municipal officers were therefore despatched, at the head of a battalion of national guards, to seize the murderers and disperse the insurgents. At the same moment information was received of an alarming tumult in the Champ de Confédération. The mob attacked the national guard, and one man had the audacity to fire on M. la Fayette himself. The man was seized ; but M. la Fayette, with a false generosity, permitted him to escape. The red flag was displayed, and martial law proclaimed. The national guard was at length obliged to fire upon the people, who did not disperse till about twelve were killed, and fifty or sixty wounded. It was asserted, with what
truth

truth it is difficult to say, that foreign emissaries were discovered among the populace distributing money, and exciting them to rebellion.

The period now approached, when the constituent assembly were to terminate their labours. A committee had been for some time employed in compiling and digesting into a code the constitutional decrees, and on the 4th of August it was read to the assembly by M. Thouret, and debated article by article on the following days. On the 3d of September it was presented to the king. He signified his acceptance of it in writing on the 13th, and the following day he appeared at the assembly, introduced by a deputation of sixty members, and solemnly consecrated the assent which he had already given, and concluded with an oath "to be faithful to the nation and to the law, and to employ the powers vested in him for the maintenance of the constitution, and the due execution of the law."

While the constitutional act was in agitation an additional decree was passed, importing that no branch of the royal family could exercise any employment in the gift of the people; and on the 30th of September, the constituent national assembly terminated an uninterrupted session of two years and four months, and spontaneously dissolved itself.

In the course of this year, the ill-concerted, and ill conducted rebellion which had taken place in the Netherlands, in consequence of the oppressions of Joseph II. was completely quelled by his successor Leopold, who solemnly renewed his oath to maintain the joyeuse entrée, a covenant which was entered into with reluctance by the monarch, and received with suspicion by his Flemish subjects. But in the succeeding chapters the effects of the ill conduct of the court of Vienna will be more clearly exemplified, in relating the rapid progress of the French arms in that quarter.

A peace was also concluded between Austria and the Porte, by the mediation of the court of Prussia; and thus Leopold had the satisfaction of finding himself in the peaceable possession of all his hereditary dominions, and relieved, from all the embarrassments in which the ambition and folly of his predecessor had involved him.

CHAP. XXVII.

The parliament meet—Marriage of the duke of York—Treaty of peace between the Emperor and the Turks—Preliminaries between Russia and the Turks—Mr. Pitt's account of the prosperous state of the nation—Debate on the Russian armament—The commons vote the gradual abolition of the slave trade—The upper house procrastinate it—Mr. Whitbread's motion on the Birmingham riots—Mr. Fox's libel bill passed—Bill for the relief of the Scottish Episcopalians—The society of the friends of the people—Proclamation against seditious writings—Thomas Paine convicted of a libel—The session ends—Account of the war in India—Lord Cornwallis arrives at Madras—Takes Bangalore—Siege of Seringapatam—Treaty of peace concluded with Tippoo—The affairs of France—The second national assembly meet—Death of Leopold the 2nd—Dismission of Roland—Riot of the 20th of June—Fayette quits the army and arrives in Paris—The duke of Brunswick enters France—Massacre of the 10th of August and the 2nd of September—Abolition of royalty—Successes of Dumourier—Decree of the 19th of November.

THE parliament did not assemble till the 31st of January, 1792, when the king announced in his speech on the throne, "the marriage of his second son, the duke of York, with the princess Frederica, daughter of his good brother, the king of Prussia. He informed the two houses, that a treaty of peace had been concluded under his mediation and that of his allies, between the Emperor and the Ottoman Porte, and preliminaries agreed upon between the latter of those powers, and Russia. The general state of affairs in Europe promised a continuance of peace, and he was induced to hope, for an immediate reduction of the naval and military establishments."

An address of thanks and approbation was moved by Mr. Charles Yorke, and seconded by sir James Murray ;
pon



Robert Taylor

FREDERICK,
Duke of York,

Now commanding the British Troops, on the Continent.



upon this occasion, Mr. Fox, in allusion to the cession of Oczakow to Russia, observed, "that it requires no moderate share of assurance for ministers to say to gentlemen who had supported their measures as wise and necessary, that which you last session contended for as of the utmost importance, we have now abandoned as of none. Will you have the goodness to move an address, approving of what we have done?" Mr. Fox thought it extraordinary, that in mentioning the inestimable blessings of peace and order, his majesty had not noticed the late riots in Birmingham in the terms they merited. They were not riots for bread—they were not riots in the cause of liberty, which, however highly to be reprobated, had yet some excuse in their principle, they were riots of men neither aggrieved nor complaining; of men who had set on foot an indiscriminate persecution of an entire description of their fellow citizens, including persons as eminent for their ability, as blameless in their conduct, and as faithful in their allegiance, as this or any country could boast. Mr. Pitt expressed his displeasure at the revival of a subject so unpleasant and unprofitable, and wished rather to call the attention of the house to the flourishing condition of the commerce and finances of the nation, of which in a short time, he proposed submitting to the house a correct statement. Accordingly, on the 17th of February, the minister, in the course of an eloquent speech, delineated a picture "of national prosperity, more flattering than even the most glowing imagination had ventured to suggest. The amount of the permanent revenue, with the land and malt duties annexed, from January 1791 to January 1792, he estimated at 16,730,000*l.* being 300,000*l.* more than the aggregate of the preceding year. The permanent expenditure, including the interest of the debt, the annual million applied towards its extinction; the civil list, and the military and naval establishments, he calculated at 15,810,000*l.* leaving a clear surplus of more than 900,000*l.* In this prosperous state of things, he thought himself authorized to propose the repeal of a part of the more burdensome taxes, to the amount of 200,000*l.* per annum, and at the same time apply the sum of 400,000*l.*

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to the reduction of the national debt, in aid of the annual million appropriated to that purpose by parliament. This would still fall far short of his estimate of the national ability, and there was good ground to believe that England had not reached, by many degrees, the summit of her prosperity. In short, continued the minister, the result of her rapidly increasing commerce, must mock all calculation. Her exports had risen one third in value since the year 1783, that is, from 14,741,000*l.* to 20,120,000*l.* and her internal trade had increased in at least an equal proportion. On the continuance of her present prosperity, it is indeed impossible to count with certainty, but *unquestionably* there never was a time when, from the situation of Europe, she might more reasonably expect a durable peace than at the present moment."

Such was the prosperous state of Great Britain in the morn of the year 1792, but before its end, the nation, was immersed in darkness, calamity and blood.

When the papers relative to the Russian armament were laid before the commons, Mr. Grey remarked several material omissions, and an entire chasm in the correspondence from October 31, 1790, to May 26, 1791, he therefore moved, "that the paper thus withheld, should be laid before the house." Mr. Pitt had recourse to the accustomed refuge in such cases, and contended that it was inconsistent with good policy, to disclose circumstances which might endanger the situation of our public alliances; and again urged the necessity of confidence in the executive government. Mr. Fox replied with great energy, "that the nation was placed in the care of its representatives; and if those to whom the people had given their confidence, should transfer that confidence to the minister, they were betrayed not represented." In the course of the debate it was forcibly observed, in allusion to the projected war with Russia, "that it would require more eloquence even than that which had been lately employed in describing the prosperity of this country, to justify a measure which put its prosperity so much to the hazard."

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The papers actually produced, were thought to exhibit such marks of the vanity and weakness of the ministers, as to induce Mr. Whitbread on the 27th of February, to move a resolution of censure on them, importing "that Oczakow was not an object of sufficient importance, to justify the armed interference of this country." The mover of the question made it clearly appear, "that no arrangement respecting Oczakow could in any way affect the commercial or political interests of Great Britain. We exported nothing thither, we imported nothing from it. It appeared that the empress had so early as December 1789, requested the interference of Great Britain to effect a peace, upon the terms of extending her frontier to the Neister, and erecting the provinces of Moldavia, Bessarabia, and Wallachia, into an independent principality under a christian prince. These terms were refused by the court of London, and the empress was told that no attention would be paid to any terms not resting upon a *status quo*. At length, after blustering, threatening and arming, came the humiliating memorial of the 29th of June, 1791, which at once conceded all that we had negotiated, threatened, and armed to obtain."

During the debate, Mr. Grey told Mr. Pitt, "that since the affair of Hollaud, he had become intoxicated with power, and fancied he could parcel out kingdoms and provinces at his pleasure; he, like Don Quixote with his books of chivalry, amused himself with curvetting in this court, prancing in that, menacing here, vaunting there—in a word, out-heroding Herod."

Mr. Fox took a comprehensive view of the question, and dwelt with much energy and effect on the folly of ministers in their late transactions with Russia. "Against vain theories, he observed, the constitution may be easily defended, but when men recur to facts, and shew me how we may be doomed to all the horrors of war, by the caprice of an individual, who will not even condescend to explain his reasons, I can only fly to this house, and exhort you to rouse from your lethargy of confidence, into the active mistrust and vigilant control which is your duty

duty and your office." There appeared on the division, for the question 116, against it 244.

Notwithstanding the coolness which the parliament displayed in the preceding session upon Mr. Wilberforce's motion for the abolition of the slave trade, the indignation of the public at large against that traffic was increasing, and it had now attained its highest pitch. The table of the house of commons was covered with petitions from all parts of the kingdom, imploring in earnest language that an end might be put to that iniquitous and inhuman trade.

Mr. Wilberforce on the 2nd of April, moved a second time the question of abolition; after an able and pathetic speech in support of his motion, he declared, "that from his exertions in this cause, he had found happiness, though not hitherto success. It enlivened his waking and soothed his evening hours, and he could not recollect without singular satisfaction, that he had demanded justice for millions who could not ask it for themselves; the sufferings of the sable Africans was the theme which had arrested and engaged his heart."

Mr. Wilberforce was powerfully supported in his laudable and humane exertions, by many respectable members of the house, amongst whom Mr. Whitbread particularly distinguished himself by the energy and animation of his remarks. "It was the necessary quality of despotism, he said, to corrupt and vitiate the heart; and the moral evils of this system were still more to be dreaded than the political. But no mildness in practice could make that to be right which was fundamentally wrong. Nothing could make him give his assent to the original sin of delivering man over to the despotism of man. It was too degrading to see, not the produce of human labour, but man himself, made the object of trade."

The ardor displayed by the nation at large in this business, at length determined the house to concede, what it was now become difficult to withhold. Mr. Dundas advanced to the dignity of secretary of state by the resignation of the duke of Leeds, and the organ of the interior cabinet in the house of commons—now recommended to
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the house the adoption of a middle and moderate plan, such as would reconcile the West India Islands with the eventual abolition of the trade; for this purpose he moved, that the word "gradual" might be inserted before "abolition."

Mr. Pitt, who had invariably supported the measure of abolition, not as a minister, but as a private member of the house declared his decided disapprobation of the amendment proposed by his right honourable friend; and, in a speech at once powerful with argument as well as eloquence, conjured the house not to postpone, even for an hour, the great and necessary work of abolition. "Reflect said the minister, on 80,000 persons annually torn from their native land! on the connections which are broken! on the friendships, attachments, and relationships that are burst asunder. How shall we repair the mischiefs we have brought upon the continent of Africa? If, knowing the miseries we have caused, we refuse even now to put a stop to them, how greatly aggravated will be the guilt of Britons!

The amendment of Mr. Dundas was however carried on the division, by a majority of 68 voices. On which he subsequently moved, "that the importation of negroes into the British colonies should cease on the 1st of January 1800." This, on the motion of lord Mornington, was after great difficulty and debate altered to January 1, 1796. A series of resolutions founded on this basis were then agreed to, and sent up for the concurrence of the Lords. These resolutions, however, met with but cold reception in the upper house; and from a large proportion of their lordships, a most determined opposition. With a view to protract, and if possible to dismiss the business, it was moved, "that evidence be heard at the bar of the house," and this motion being carried, the house slept over the business during the remainder of the session.

Mr. Fox, in the course of this session, brought forward a motion for the repeal of those penal statutes, which, notwithstanding the existence of the toleration act, were still
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in force against those who in any measure impugned the doctrine of the *trinity*. He was opposed by Mr. Pitt, and the motion was rejected by a majority of 79 voices.

Mr. Whitbread was more decidedly unsuccessful, in a motion of inquiry on the subject of the Birmingham riots, which he brought forward on the 21st of May. He pre-faced his motion by an excellent speech, in which he hinted that ministers had been negligent in their exertions for the suppression of those disorders, and referred the house to the proceedings of a former house of commons, who, on a similar occasion, A. D. 1716, had addressed George the first, in terms expressive of the utmost indignation and abhorrence of the spirit which had excited those atrocious outrages; requesting that full compensation might be made to the sufferers. He insisted on the disgrace which England would incur in the eyes of all Europe, if a man, who had done so much honour to his country by his philosophical and literary talents, as Dr. Priestley, should fail to obtain a signal reparation for the injuries he had sustained.

Mr. secretary Dundas, in reply, vindicated the government from the suspicions of not having exerted themselves to the utmost in quelling those riots. In the course of his speech, the right honourable secretary used some harsh expressions on the recent conduct of the dissenters. Upon this occasion Mr. Grey arose, he said, "not as the professed advocate of the dissenters, but regarding them as a body of men who had ever distinguished themselves as the zealous defenders of the glorious revolution, and the illustrious house of Hanover, when that succession was supposed to be in danger; he would always therefore exert himself to protect them from insult and oppression, under both of which they had too frequently laboured—when the ridiculous and obsolete clamor was revived, that the *church* was in *danger*, the most lawless rabble were excited to plunder and insult them."

The motion was finally negatived by a decisive majority.

Notwithstanding the opposition of the law lords Thurlow, Kenyon, and Bathurst, the famous libel bill introduced

introduced in the last session by Mr. Fox, and which was lost in the house of lords, was now triumphantly carried through both houses, and passed into a law. The law lords joined in a protest against the bill, which will remain as a perpetual monument of the triumph of good sense and sound argument over legal and professional subtilty.

During this session, another point was gained in favour of the general system of freedom, by a bill introduced into the house of peers by lord Elgin, for the relief of the Scottish episcopalians, who had long been subject to heavy penalties, on the original ground of notorious disaffection to the revolution establishment. The lord chancellor doubted whether, according to a clause in the present bill, specifying the description of persons to be relieved, the state could with propriety recognize the validity of ordination, by bishops exercising their functions independent of the state, and whether bishops could *exist* in any christian country not authorised by the state, but upon being informed by the bishop of St. Davids, "that christian bishops existed three hundred years before the happy alliance of church and state took place, under the auspices of the emperor Constantine the great," his lordship declared himself satisfied, and the bill passed without any farther opposition.

The spirit of discontent and disaffection which prevailed about this time, gave rise to various political associations, instituted for the purpose of bringing about a reform of the many abuses which had crept into the various departments of government, particularly in the house of commons, several of those by the interference of their language and resolutions, excited almost a general alarm, and rather retarded than accelerated the great business of reformation upon constitutional principles. In order to wipe off the odium which the placemen, pensioners, and the tools of the minister had thrown upon the advocates of *even* a moderate and necessary reform, many respectable defenders of constitutional liberty at this period formed themselves into a society, denominated "friends of the people," for the sole purpose of effecting a reform of par-

liament on the principles so often stated, and so nobly enforced by Mr. Pitt, the duke of Richmond, and several others before they came into administration. The names of about thirty members of parliament, and many of the most eminent characters in the kingdom for political and literary talents, stamped a respectability upon this association, superior to that of any other in the nation. It is worthy of remark, that this respectability and moderation of the members, seemed to excite the alarm of ministers, more than all the other political societies united. The conduct of Mr. Pitt, when Mr. Grey one of the "friends of the people" signified his intention to move, in the course of the ensuing session, for an enquiry into the state of the representation, manifested the alarm of administration. The chancellor of the exchequer rose with unusual vehemence to declare "his total disapprobation of introducing at a period so critical and dangerous as the present, a discussion of such difficulty and importance. This he affirmed was not a time for experiments; and if he was called upon either to risque this, or for ever to abandon all hopes of reform, he would say he had no hesitation in *preferring the latter* alternative. He saw with concern, the gentlemen to whom he alluded, virtually united with others who professed the reform of abuses, and meant the subversion of government."

Mr. Fox, and several other friends of the projected motion, powerfully argued the expediency and policy of a timely and temperate reform.

The consternation of the ministers further appeared by a *royal proclamation* almost immediately issued against the public dispersion of all seditious writings, and against all illegal correspondences—exhorting the magistrates to vigilance, and the people to submission and obedience.

When this proclamation was laid before the house on the 25th of May, and an address moved of approbation and support, it was opposed by Mr. Grey with much warmth, and the proclamation itself condemned in severe terms as a measure insidious and pernicious. Mr. Pitt, in the course of the debate which took place upon this occasion, declared, "that he differed from the friends of
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the people only in regard to the *time* and *mode* which they had adopted for the attainment of their object. That association, he said, did not come within the scope and purview of the proclamation, which was levelled against the daring and seditious principles which had been so assiduously propagated amongst the people, under the plausible and delusive appellation of the rights of man." The address being finally carried without a division, and receiving the concurrence of the upper house, was presented in form to the king. It was followed by addresses from all parts of the kingdom; and the ministry, finding their strength, commenced prosecutions against a great number of offenders, amongst whom Thomas Paine stood most conspicuous. He was indicted for sedition, and found guilty, notwithstanding the professional ability of Mr. Erskine, whom he had engaged as his advocate; but foreseeing the probability of this event, he had previously absconded to France.

On the 5th of June a discussion took place in the commons respecting the war in India, the origin and progress of which will be presently explained. On the 15th, the session closed with a speech from the throne, in which his majesty expressed to the two houses "his great concern at the actual commencement of hostilities in different parts of Europe, assuring them that his *principal care* would be to preserve to his people the uninterrupted blessings of *peace*."

The commencement of the war in India may be dated from the engagement between the troops of the rajah of Travancore, who were stationed in Cranganore, for the defence of that fortress, with those of Tippoo Sultan on the first of May, 1790. This event, which was expected by our government, and possibly concerted with them, was the signal for the most vigorous preparations for war on the part of the British. The grand Carnatic army assembled immediately in the southern provinces. The general plan of the campaign was to reduce the Coimbatore country, and all the adjacent territory which lay below the Ghauts, or narrow passes between the mountains, and to advance by the Gujelhetty pass to the siege

of Seringapatam, the metropolis of Myfore. While such were to be the operations of the grand army under general Meadows, the Bombay army under general Abercrombie was to undertake the reduction of the country lying to the west of the Ghauts, and afterwards to co-operate with the main army, as circumstances might direct. In the mean time the safety of the Carnatic was secured by a force under colonel Kelly, and styled, from its position, the centre army, being stationed in the line between Madraß and the passes leading to Myfore.

The Poonah Mahrattas and the Nizam were respectively to penetrate the enemy's territory in the quarter bordering upon theirs; and Seringapatam was established as the common center, where the whole force was to appear in a collective body.

With such despatch were the movements ordered, that general Meadows joined the grand army at Trichinopoly on the 24th of May, and on the 26th this formidable body of finely appointed troops, amounting to 14,000 effective men, marched towards the Coimbettore country. The march, however, of Indian armies cannot be very rapid, as their baggage and provisions are mostly transported upon bullocks. It was therefore the 15th of June before general Meadows entered Tippoo's country; and the first place that surrendered to the British arms was the fort of Carroor, about 45 miles from Trichinopoly, which was immediately evacuated on the appearance of the British general.

It was somewhat remarkable that Tippoo appeared to have taken scarcely any measures to secure the country below the Ghauts, nor even to remove or destroy the grain in a territory which it was evidently not his intention to defend. Notwithstanding this circumstance; however, so inadequate is such a country to the supply of so considerable a force as that of the British, that it was the 3d of July before the army was enabled to move from Carroor, after collecting all the supplies which the country afforded, and after putting the fort on the most tenable footing possible.

Seven days were spent in marching fifty-nine miles to Daraporum

Daraporum. In this place the army was fortunate enough to find a very seasonable and plentiful supply of grain. They now learned that Tippoo had ascended the Ghauts, leaving at the foot of them, between Gudelhetty and Damicotta a strong detachment of horse. On the 22d of July the army entered Coimbatore, which was also evacuated on their approach, though it contained a considerable quantity of grain, and some military stores. The smaller forts in the neighbourhood of Coimbatore were reduced by different detachments in a short time.

An enterprize of more importance was also attempted during the halt of the army of Coimbatore. Soon after their arrival at that capital, colonel Floyd, with the cavalry, was despatched towards Damicotta, about forty miles to the north, in the hope of surprising the detachment of cavalry, which, we have just intimated, was stationed by Tippoo below the Ghauts; the colonel however only succeeded in capturing about fifty horse.

Towards the latter end of August, colonel Floyd was again sent to reduce Sattimungalum and Damicotta. The former was garrisoned by a battalion, and, having been intended as a depot, considerable quantities of provisions were collected there: it however surrendered to colonel Floyd without the smallest resistance. Being soon after joined by a detachment under colonel Oldham, the whole body was computed to be nearly equal in strength to one wing of the grand army, but without its proportion of artillery. The station which this small army occupied after the capture of Sattimungalum, was to the south of the Bowanny river, opposite that fortress. On the 12th of September, Tippoo Sultan descended the Gudelhetty pass, and on the following day commenced a smart cannonade on colonel Floyd's detachment. During the night therefore the colonel thought it necessary to retreat towards Coimbatore, but during the whole of the succeeding day, the 14th, found himself closely pressed by the enemy. The severest part of the conflict was in the evening, near Showoor, when the Myforean force was repulsed with equal valour and judgment on the part of the British.

As intelligence was very early conveyed to general Meadows of Tippoo's motions, that commander lost no time in marching to the relief of colonel Floyd. On the 14th at night the general reached Vellady, while colonel Floyd was at Showoor, about twenty miles to the eastward. By some unaccountable mistake, however, the army continued to march to the northward, and did not join colonel Floyd till the 16th. The loss on this occasion amounted to 150 killed, and near 300 wounded, and 6 guns were left behind on account of the loss of the draft cattle.

After halting the whole of the 17th, in order to refresh colonel Floyd's detachment, general Meadows marched to the eastward to offer Tippoo battle; but in the mean time the Sultan retreated to Sattimungalum, and the British general, from want of provisions, was under the necessity of returning to Coimbatore.

It was the close of the month before general Meadows was able to march again in quest of the enemy. The wary Indian, however, who never fights but at an advantage, was too cautious to be engaged by the manoeuvres of the general. When the army arrived at any post in the evening, the usual report was, that Tippoo had quitted it early in the morning; and a general ignorance of all his motions and designs, seems so much for some time to have pervaded the camp; that it was the 12th of October before any authentic intelligence could be gained. It then appeared that his object had been to attack Daraporum, which surrendered to his arms, and the British garrison arrived in camp on the 17th, under an escort of Tippoo's troops, agreeably to the terms of capitulation. The garrison spoke in high terms of the honourable treatment which they had experienced from this prince, who has been usually characterized as a cruel and implacable tyrant.

Tippo departed from Daraporum on the 20th, and probably desirous of placing the Bowanny river, which at this season is rough and swelling, between his army and the British, proceeded to Sattimungalum. He might also have a further view in taking this position, viz. to prevent

prevent the junction of general Meadows with the center army.

The British general left Coimbettore on the same day that Tippoo quitted Daraporum, but nothing worth recording occurred till the 7th of November, when colonel Floyd, who had been sent to reconnoitre, brought the intelligence that Tippoo had crossed the Cavery to the north east, in the beginning of the month, and was apparently proceeding to stop the progress of the centre army, now commanded by colonel Maxwell, the former commander, colonel Kelly, being dead.

It would be useless to detail minutely the progress of this centre army: let it suffice to say, that after a fatiguing and dangerous march, and after taking possession of several forts in the Barramaul, colonel Maxwell, on the 3d of November, took a strong position at Caveripatam, where probably his intelligence led him to wait the approach of Tippoo, rather than risk his army in a less favourable position by daring to advance.

The conjectures which had been formed with respect to the designs of the enemy, were, as it afterwards appeared, well founded. On the 12th, 13th, and 14th, Tippoo presented himself before colonel Maxwell in line of battle; but finding the British commander too well prepared and too strongly posted, and conscious that his rear would certainly be pressed by the near approach of general Meadows, he retired in time to secure himself a favourable position for a timely retreat.

The history of the grand army during this time, is no more than a journal of its marches in pursuit of the enemy. On the 17th of November, the two armies (the grand and the centre army) effected a junction at Poolamputty; and on the following evening, as they were pursuing their route to the southward, they came unexpectedly in sight of the rear of the Mysorean army, the advance of which was probably at that moment entering the pass of Tapoor. The rear consisted of the prime of Tippoo's cavalry, drawn up in compact bodies to favour the retreat of the main body. They were cannonaded
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and pursued to the foot of the pass, and apparently suffered some loss.

From this period, the united armies under general Meadows directed their course backwards by the straightest road to Trichinopoly, in order to refresh themselves and obtain a supply; but the weather proved so unfavourable that they did not arrive in its neighbourhood till the 8th of December. Here they learned that Tippoo had arrived at Munfurput, on the banks of the Colaroone, opposite Trichinopoly, on the 28th of November, where he continued till December 6, but without making any attack upon Trichinopoly; deterred, most probably, by the swollen state of the river.

While such were the movements of general Meadows, a detachment from the Bombay army, under lieutenant colonel Hartley, rendered effectual assistance to the rajah of Travancore, and on the 5th of December, general Abercrombie, with the remainder of the forces from Bombay, arrived at Tellicherry, while colonel Hartley was ordered to Paniani to keep the communication open between the two armies.

The reduction of Cannanore was general Abercrombie's first object, upon which he marched the 14th of December; and on the 17th the town and garrison surrendered, and the troops engaged not to serve against the British during the war. Colonel Hartley nearly about the same time obtained possession of Ferokabad, the capital of the Malabar coast, and the enemy retreated to the Ghauts. These successes were soon followed, on the 27th, by the surrender of the posts of Barragurry and Cootahpoore, so that the whole district along the coast from Billipatam river to cape Comorin was now in the possession of the British and their allies.

The army under general Meadows left Trichinopoly on the fifth of January, 1791, and proceeded towards Madras, where earl Cornwallis had arrived on the 13th of December. On the 12th of January the right wing of the grand army reached Vellout, about eighteen miles from Madras, and on the 29th of the same month, earl
Cornwallis

Cornwallis joined the grand army there, which early in February proceeded in two columns towards Vellore.

From the direction of the march it was supposed that his lordship meant to enter the Mysore territory by the Baramaul valley; and so completely was Tippoo deceived by this feint, that his whole attention was directed to the passes in that quarter. The real object however of the British general was the pass of Muglee; and so judiciously had he taken his measures, that no interruption was given to the army till they had proceeded three days march to the westward beyond the pass.

It was the 22d of February before the last of the public stores and the baggage of the army were got safe over the pass. The succeeding day was a day of halt. The order of battle was then published, and the bullocks and elephants mustered; of the former 27,000 were found fit for service, and of the latter, eighty accompanied the army.

Lord Cornwallis proceeded for Bangalore on the 24th of February. After three days march, some parties of the enemy's horse were discovered, which increased as the army advanced; and before the British reached within eighteen miles of Bangalore, they burnt all the adjacent villages and destroyed the forage. When advanced within ten miles of the fortress, Tippoo's army appeared in excellent order, and taking possession of the heights, cannonaded the British rear, while his cavalry made an unsuccessful attempt on the baggage.

The British general encamped before Bangalore on the 5th of March. In the afternoon colonel Floyd, with the cavalry being dispatched to reconnoitre, was tempted to attack Tippoo's rear, which at first appeared to give way; but the enemy being strongly reinforced, soon rallied, and compelled the colonel to retreat. On the following day, the pettah or town was stormed and taken, with the loss of 100 men: it was found to contain a good supply of grain, forage, and fuel.

On the 12th three batteries were opened on the fort, but they were too distant to effect a breach; on the 16th, therefore, a new battery of nine guns was opened at 550 yards

yards from the works, On the 17th, and again on the 21st, Tippoo drew out his army, but without effect. A breach of some extent was about this time effected, and on the evening of the 21st, the fort was stormed and taken with little loss on the side of the British, but with a dreadful carnage of the unresisting garrison. Not less than 1000 were massacred with the bayonet, and 300, mostly wounded, were taken. Such is war in its very nature and spirit, that it necessarily destroys the moral feelings; and such are its inevitable consequences, that however distinguished for humanity the commander may be, he generally finds himself, on such occasions, unable to restrain the intemperance and cruelty of his soldiers. The philosopher, in future and in better times, will peruse these melancholy details with a sigh, and will ask, By what authority men embark from a distant shore for the express purpose of imbruing their hands in the blood of their offenceless fellow creatures?

The army remained at Bangalore till the 28th of March, when they proceeded to the N. N. E. towards Chinna-Balabaram. Nothing of importance occurred till the 7th of April, when they were joined by a party of the Nizam's troops, in number from 14 to 16,000; but in a very bad and irregular state. On the 19th, Colonel Oldham joined the army, bringing with him a welcome supply of stores and provisions, and a reinforcement of about 700 Europeans, and 4,500 native troops. On the 25th, Earl Cornwallis declared his intentions of proceeding to Seringapatam; but it was the 3d of May before the army could be sufficiently prepared for so considerable an enterprise.

The march was attended with every inconvenience that could result from a hilly country, heavy roads, and almost continual rain. The army arrived on the 13th at Ara-keery, whence they had a view of their great object the capital of Mysore, then only about nine miles distant. At the same time they observed a large body of troops crossing from the island of Seringapatam to the north side of the river Cavery, and taking a position in the front of the British, at the distance of about six miles. These troops,

troops, however, were then considered only as a large detachment, and not as the main body of Tippoo's army, as they really were, a part of them being obscured by the projecting base of a hill, which intervened between two camps. Tippoo had only arrived at his capital four days before the appearance of lord Cornwallis at Arakeery.

As his lordship had received certain intelligence that general Abercrombie had ascended the Ghauts on the Malabar side, the first object was to form a junction, if possible, with that general. The whole of the 14th, therefore, was employed in endeavours to make a bad ford, which there was across the Chavery, fit for the transporting of artillery; but the depth of the river, and its uneven and rocky bed, obliged them to desist.

The difficulty of approaching the enemy's camp on the side of Arakeery, determined the British commander to march round the ridge of mountains on the right, to endeavour to surprise the sultan in his camp. At eleven o'clock on the night of the 14th, the whole army was under arms; but the night proved most unfavourable for the purpose. The rain and the darkness, added to some misconception of orders, produced the most deplorable confusion and delay; and when the day broke, instead of being near the object of their destination, they had only moved a few miles, and the rear of the line had but just passed their own piquets to the right. At sunrise, moving round the edge of the hills, the enemy's line was seen from a rising ground in the same strong position they had occupied the day before. Very low ground, intersected by a deep ravine, ran along their front, but a high ground beyond the ravine, seemed to offer a fair opportunity of attacking their left flank with advantage. The first European brigade moved on to possess this height; at the same time a body of the enemy's infantry moved from the left, and soon after a large body of troops and artillery advanced from the Mysorean camp, to occupy the height, which was also the object of the British. From the superiority of their cattle, this detachment, commanded by Commer ud Deen, gained its summit first, but the British were fortunate enough to prevent

vent them from occupying another strong bridge, which although lower than the first, was yet of material importance.

The army was formed in two divisions. The right, commanded by colonel Maxwell, marched to attack the height which had been pre-occupied by Cummer ud Deen, in the manner already related. The left was under the command of General Meadows; and the cavalry was placed out of gunshot, to be in readiness to embrace any advantage that might be presented.

The action was begun by colonel Maxwell storming the height, in which having been eminently successful, the left division advanced to the attack of the enemy's main body, and the action soon became general along the whole front. The success of colonel Maxwell proved fatal to Tippoo; for after leaving a sufficient force to occupy the height, that officer advanced rapidly to gain the Carigal height, close to the enemy's left flank, while the cavalry under colonel Floyd moved at the same time to attack their right. The consequence was, that Tippoo was obliged to give way, though his retreat was gradual and masterly. One gun only was taken on the field, and three others on the height, by colonel Maxwell. The enemy were pursued till the fire from the island batteries obliged the assailants to desist; and the following day lord Cornwallis encamped partly on the field of battle, and just out of the reach of the island batteries. The loss on the part of the British in this action was inconsiderable.

Of this success it is well known that lord Cornwallis was unable to take the advantage, and the principal causes of his miscarriage may be reduced to two—the swelling of the river, and the weakness of the draft cattle, which prevented a junction with general Abercrombie, together with the want of provisions to support them during a protracted siege.

After despatching orders, therefore, to general Abercrombie (who had obtained possession of Periapatam) to return down the pass with all expedition, on the 26th of May, lord Cornwallis moved from his encampment near Seringapatam on his return to Bangalore, having previously destroyed

destroyed his battering train, and removed every incumbrance. On the 28th he was joined by the Mahrattas to the number of 30,000, whose movements had been doubtless accelerated by the news of Tippoo's defeat. As they brought with them, however, a supply of provisions, the difficulty of obtaining subsistence was for the present removed, and the combined armies moved slowly to the place of their destination. In their route they made themselves masters of several petty fortresses; and on the 18th of July Ousoor submitted to the British arms, and by reducing the forts in its neighbourhood, the Odeadurgum and Ryacota passes were opened, through which it was his lordship's intention to obtain supplies in the ensuing campaign. On the 30th of July the combined forces encamped within six miles of Bangalore. General Abercrombie, after having also sacrificed his battering train, was compelled to lead back a sick and dispirited army over the almost inaccessible mountains which he had so lately passed, with perhaps more difficulty, but with more ardent and inspiring expectations.

While the British forces lay encamped near Seringapatam, a present of fruit has been sent from Tippoo to lord Cornwallis, and some overtures were made for obtaining a separate peace. The present was, however, returned with but little courtesy on the part of the British general, and the Sultan, it is said, was assured that no peace could be acceptable which was not to include the allies. Notwithstanding this disappointment, so solicitous was the monarch for obtaining peace, that lord Cornwallis had scarcely reached Bangalore than a vakeel was dispatched by Tippoo with full powers to treat. From what cause his mission was unsuccessful we are not fully informed; but it was generally reported that the forms of his reception, with which lord Cornwallis did not choose to comply, and on which, he said, he was authorised to insist, put an end to the negotiation. This circumstance gave colour to the sarcastic observation of the democratic writers, that in the eyes of princes and great men, the lives of their fellow creatures are frequently of less importance

than the observation of some trivial etiquette, of some ridiculous and unmeaning ceremony.

During the winter months, lord Cornwallis was not inactive, but on the contrary omitted nothing which might contribute to the success of the ensuing campaign. The first object that engaged his attention, was to regulate the contract for bullocks in such a manner as to ensure a proper and adequate supply of cattle for every purpose during the continuance of the war; the next was the reduction of the hill forts to the North East of Bangalore, which were so situated between that fortress and Gumunconda, as to interrupt the communication with the Nizam's army, and the supplies which might be collected in that quarter. The smaller forts surrendered upon summons, but Nundydroog, the capital of a large district, and built upon the summit of a mountain, 1700 feet in height, three fourths of which were absolutely inaccessible, was enabled to stand a considerable siege. From the 22d of September to the 18th of October, the brave garrison resisted with heroic firmness. On that day the breaches being rendered practicable, lord Cornwallis, with a view to intimidate the garrison, encamped within four miles of the fort; and it was determined to make the assault at midnight, in hopes of taking the garrison by surprise. The vigilance of the enemy, however, soon discovered the assailants, but their fire was not sufficiently well directed to prevent the British soldiery from mounting the breach. The carnage which must have ensued was prevented partly by a number of the garrison escaping by ladders over a low part of the wall, but chiefly by the laudable exertions of captain Robertson, who commanded the storming party, and who with a humanity which reflects the utmost honor on his character, from the moment he entered the fort directed his whole attention to preserving order, and preventing the effusion of blood.

In the latter end of October, colonel Maxwell was sent with a detachment towards the Baramoul valley, chiefly to disperse the plundering parties which intercepted the provisions. On the 31st, colonel Maxwell took a
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small mud fort, called Penagra, by storm; but we must regret that the same humanity was not exercised here as at Nundydroog; for out of a garrison of 300, not less than 150 were put to the sword.

Early in November, general Abercrombie returned to Tellicherry from Bombay and immediately received orders from the governor general to pursue the same plan of operations as in the preceding campaign. On the 5th of December therefore the general proceeded on his march through the Ghauts towards the Myfore country. The Mahratta force under Purserum Bhow was not inactive in the mean time, but was successful in the reduction of several forts situated on the rivers Tum and Budra, which opened to their occupation a fertile district, and were the means of affording very seasonable supplies.

The period now approached when something of more importance was to be expected from the combined force which at this time acted in the territory of Myfore, and when the reduction of the capital was to be attempted as the means of either crushing entirely the force of the enemy, or to bring him to such terms as might ensure a lasting peace.

On the 1st of February, 1792, therefore the allied armies commenced their march, in the course of which, nothing worth relating occurred; and on the 5th they arrived within sight of Seringapatam, under the walls of which the Sultan was strongly posted to receive them.

Tippoo's front line, or fortified camp, which was situated on the north side of the Cavery behind a strong bound hedge, was defended by heavy cannon in the redoubts, and by his field train and army stationed to the best advantage. To the front there appeared at least 100 pieces of cannon, and in the fort and island which formed his second line, there were at least three times that number. The confederate army encamped at the distance of about six miles from the Sultan. Their camp was separated in two divisions by a small stream, called the Lockarry river, which runs into the Cavery. The British army formed the front line; the reserve was stationed about a mile in the rear, where the Mahratta and Ni-

zam's armies were also posted, but at a still further distance.

The British commander did not suffer his troops to enjoy a long repose in this station ; for on the 6th of February, general orders were issued, directing an attack upon the enemy's camp and lines that evening at 7 o'clock. The right division, consisting of 3300 infantry, was commanded by general Meadows ; the centre, consisting of 3700, by lord Cornwallis in person ; and the left, which only mounted to 1700 men, by lieutenant colonel Maxwell. At eight o'clock the whole body was under arms ; the evening was calm and serene ; and the troops moved on by the light of the moon in determined silence. While the columns were on their march, the camp left under the command of colonel Duff was struck, and the baggage packed ; and this was the first notice communicated to the allies of the intended attack. Their consternation is scarcely to be imagined, when they found that lord Cornwallis had proceeded on this desperate enterprise with a part of his infantry only, and unsupported by artillery ; and Tippoo himself, it appears, had no apprehension of so early a visit, especially as neither Purseram Bhow nor general Abercrombie had yet joined.

Between the hours of ten and eleven at night, the centre column, within a mile of the bound hedge, touched upon the enemy's grand guard, or body of cavalry, who were coming with rockets, &c. to disturb the British camp. The cavalry galloped off to the lines, and left the rocket boys to harass the column and endeavour to impede its march. Perceiving themselves thus completely discovered, the column advanced with uncommon rapidity, and entered the lines in less than a quarter of an hour after the intelligence could have reached the enemy.

The right column met with more impediments, and being led to a more distant point than was intended by lord Cornwallis, was considerably later in reaching the hedge than the center column. It entered however about eleven, and the battle became general throughout the enemy's lines. The right division, owing to its late arrival, and to its having attacked a redoubt which the

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commander in chief had intended to be passed by, gave time to the enemy to form, and suffered severely from grape and musket shot during a sharp contest, which lasted almost till day-break. The enemy at length completely gave way before the persevering valour of the British troops; and at day-break general Meadows found himself complete master of the field; but being entirely ignorant of the operations of the other columns, was unable to proceed.

The main object of the center column, was to gain possession of the island, into which it was their intention to pass along with the fugitives. After entering the lines, the front division of this column soon dispersed the enemy, and passing the Sultan's tent, which was hastily abandoned, pressed forward to the river in two divisions. The first party, commanded by captain Monson, crossed the ford under the walls of the fort without opposition. They proceeded instantly to the east gate of the city, but found it shut and the bridge drawn up; they therefore proceeded through the island to an extensive *bazar* or market place, where they made a considerable slaughter of the enemy. This party was almost immediately followed by the other division under colonel Knox, which however, instead of directing its course to the city, proceeded to the Rajah's garden, and thence to take possession of the suburb Shahar Ganjam, the gates of which they forced open, and soon drove the enemy from all their batteries in that quarter. Another party under captain Hunter crossed the river, and stationed themselves in the Rajah's garden; but as soon as their position was discovered, they were attacked by superior numbers of the enemy, so that captain Hunter was obliged precipitately to repass the river and join lord Cornwallis, where his presence afterwards materially contributed to his lordship's safety.

The centre division of this column advanced to the Sultan's redoubt, which they found abandoned, and afterwards co-operated with colonel Maxwell in the defeat of Tippoo's right wing. Lord Cornwallis with the reserve remained close by that part of the bound hedge

the column had first entered ; and here, two hours before day-break, he was joined by captain Hunter's party, who had but just time to change their cartridges, which were wet with crossing the river, before the whole party was attacked by a strong body of troops, part of Tippoo's center and left, who now recovered from their panic, rallied with redoubled resolution. The conflict was supported with inflexible courage on both sides, and it was near day light before the enemy was finally repulsed. Lord Cornwallis then apprehensive of being surrounded, retired to the pagoda hill, where he was met by general Meadows who was in motion to support his lordship.

The intended operations of the left division under colonel Maxwell, were to attack the Carighaut hill on the right of Tippoo's fortified camp, and thence to force their way into the island by the most practicable means. The hill, though strong both by nature and art, was gained by colonel Maxwell without much resistance. The column afterwards marched down towards the river, though much galled by a party who had sheltered themselves behind a bank, and by the firing from the right of Tippoo's line from behind the bound hedge. They crossed the ford with much difficulty, and soon joined the victorious parties, who had obtained possession of the eastern extremity of the island.

The battle was continued in different parts during the whole of the 7th. The most desperate conflict was at the Sultan's redoubt, which was defended by a small party of British under major Kelly, against three vigorous attacks, seconded by a heavy cannonading from the forts.

The enemy having quitted every post on the north side of the river, the camp was advanced on the succeeding days as near to the bound hedge as the guns of the fort would permit, and a chain of posts connecting along the northern and eastern faces of the fort, were formed, so as strongly to invest the capital of Mysore on its two principal sides.

Thus pressed by the invaders in every quarter; his palace and beautiful gardens in the possession of the enemy, and his whole power reduced within the narrow li-

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mits of a citadel, the possession of which was even uncertain, the hitherto unsubdued spirit of the Sultan seems to have given way with his tottering fortunes, and peace, almost upon any terms, appeared a desirable acquisition. As a preliminary step towards an accommodation, he determined to release lieutenants Chalmers and Nash, who had been captured at Coimbatore. On the evening of the 8th of February these officers were introduced into the Sultan's presence. They found him in a small tent on the south glacis of the fort, very plainly dressed, and with few attendants. After acquainting them with their release, he asked Mr. Chalmers, if on going to the camp he was likely to see lord Cornwallis; and on being answered in the affirmative, he requested that he would take charge of a letter to his lordship on the subject of peace. He affirmed solemnly that it never had been his wish or intention to break with the English; that from the first commencement of hostilities he had been extremely anxious for the restoration of peace. He expressed a wish that Mr. Chalmers would return with the answer; and concluded, by presenting him with two shawls and 500 rupees. Lieutenants Chalmers and Nash had been remarkably well treated while detained by Tippoo.

While the Sultan was thus anxiously endeavouring to restore tranquillity to his exhausted country, his mind was still fertile in the expedients and stratagems of war. By one master-stroke of policy, that of capturing the commander in chief, he hoped to effect his purpose in a shorter and more honourable mode than by the slow and precarious method of negotiation. On the 8th and 9th of February, small parties of his cavalry were observed to cross the cavery at the ford near Arrakerry (the station which lord Cornwallis had occupied in the preceding campaign); and on the morning of the 10th a considerable body of them got round the left wing undiscovered, and entered between the British camp and that of the Nizam. The allies, not suspecting these horsemen to be enemies, suffered them to pass on quietly; and on their asking some of the camp followers for the Burra Saib, or commander, these persons, supposing that the horsemen
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only wished to communicate some intelligence to colonel Duff, the commanding officer of artillery, pointed to his tent. The horsemen then drew their sabres and galloped to the tent, but being fortunately perceived by a party of seapoy drafts and recruits, who were encamped in the rear of the artillery park, and who formed with singular alacrity, and faced the enemy with undaunted firmness, they were soon dispersed, and the attempt proved abortive.

On the 16th of February the Bombay army under general Abercrombie, after a fatiguing march, and after having been in some degree harrassed by detached parties of the enemy during their progress, joined lord Cornwallis, and afforded a reinforcement of about 2,000 Europeans and 4,000 native troops fit for duty. Preparations therefore were vigorously made on the 18th, for the attack of the fort, not on the island side, which was deemed the strongest, but in the quarter facing the north, which appeared to lord Cornwallis most assailable; and trenches were immediately ordered to be opened, and batteries to be constructed with all expedition on that side.

On the 19th, the grand operation of the siege commenced by the opening of the trenches, and a heavy discharge from all the batteries; in the mean time, the Bombay army crossed the river in order to invest the western side of the capital. Some little resistance was made to general Abercrombie's establishing himself on that side of the river; but towards evening the party which opposed him was dispersed. General Abercrombie's force on the south side of the river consisted of three regiments of Europeans and six battalions of Seapoys. His camp, strongly situated on the heights, was pitched just beyond gun-shot of the fort.

In consequence of the application through lieutenant Chalmers, lord Cornwallis agreed to receive vakeels or envoys to treat of peace. On the 15th, 16th, 19th, and 21st, sir John Kennaway and Mr. Cherry, assisted by vakeels from the Nizam's son and Hurry Punt, the Mahratta chief, met the agents of the Sultan, but apparently little progress was made in the negotiation.

The siege still continued without intermission, and on
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the 22d, general Abercrombie conceiving it necessary to take possession of an evacuated redoubt and a grove, situated between his camp and the fort, the possession was warmly disputed by a detachment, chiefly consisting of dismounted cavalry; and though the British were in the end victorious, it was not till after the loss of 104 men killed and wounded.

During the nights of the 22d and 23d of February, new works were erected, and two breaching batteries, one of 20 and the other of 12 guns, would have been ready to open on the 1st of March. The Mahratta army commanded by Purseram Bhow, and consisting of 20,000 horse, a body of several thousand infantry, and 30 pieces of cannon, was expected daily to join, as well as major Cuppage from the Coimbettore country, with 400 Europeans and three battalions of seapoys. In the mean time, Tippoo had been compelled to send off all his cavalry, as well as his workmen and camp followers, to Mysore. The British army was well supplied with every necessary, and that of the Sultan in want of every thing.

In this hopeless situation the monarch of Mysore was compelled to accept of whatever terms were offered by the British commander. Lord Cornwallis in this instance is supposed to have been actuated by motives of policy, rather than by any doubt of success, in capitulating with Tippoo. The best informed persons on the politics of India, have been averse to the annihilation of the Mysorean power; and it is generally supposed that the governor general rather wished it to be humbled than destroyed. However this may be, preliminaries of peace were signed on the evening of the 23d of February, and on the following day there was an entire cessation of hostilities. The substance of the treaty was—

1st. That Tippoo was to cede one half of his dominions to the allied powers. 2d. That he was to pay three crores and 30 lacks of rupees. 3d. That all prisoners were to be restored. 4th. That two of the sultan's three eldest sons were to become hostages for the due performance of the treaty.

On the 26th the two princes, each mounted on an elephant,

phant, richly caparisoned, proceeded from the fort to lord Cornwallis's camp, where they were received by his lordship with the staff. The eldest, Abdul Kalick, was about ten, the youngest, Mooza-ud Deen, about eight years of age. The princes were dressed in long white muslin gowns, with red turbans, richly adorned with pearls. Educated from infancy with the utmost care, the spectators were astonished to behold in these children all the reserve, the politeness and attention of maturer years. The kindness with which they were received by the British commander appeared to afford them visible satisfaction. Some presents were exchanged on both sides ; and the scene is described by an eye-witness* as highly interesting.

It was the 19th of March before the definitive treaty was finally adjusted. The allies were probably exorbitant in their demands, and Tippoo and his courtiers appear to have exerted their utmost abilities, in artfully endeavouring to gain time and to mitigate the terms of submission. Tippoo however at length gave a reluctant consent, as it is said, to the terms prescribed by lord Cornwallis; and the definitive treaty was delivered by the young princes with great solemnity into the hands of his lordship and the allies.

Thus happily terminated a war, the good policy of which was greatly questioned by some of the most competent judges of Indian politics ; and the conduct of which, from a variety of unfortunate circumstances, disappointed for a considerable time, the sanguine hopes of its warm supporters.

We will now turn our eyes towards France, which was become a political theatre upon which the most important and extraordinary scenes followed each other in such rapid succession, as to elude the research of the most penetrating mind to discover either their causes or effects. The feudal system, the principal pillar of the ancient government, which had stood firm during the ages of ignorance and superstition, was crumbled into dust under the hands of rash and violent reformers, and the whole political fabric became a chaos of shapeless materials. Anarchy and
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* Major Dirom.

her constant attendants, blood-shed and riot, were the necessary consequences. Nothing remained but the arduous and dangerous task of making a new system of government; in this undertaking a dreadful conflict took place between the interests and prejudices of the ancient privileged orders, and the modern advocates for an *equality of rights*.

The second national assembly of France met October 1, 1791. By an act of patriotic disinterestedness, very indiscreet in its nature, and pernicious in its consequences, the late assembly had decreed, that no person should be eligible to two successive legislatures. The present assembly, therefore, was necessarily destitute of the experience, and, according to the general opinion, of the talents likewise of the former. And being chosen at the precise period when the national resentment was at the highest pitch, they were of a much more anti-monarchical complexion. The opening speech of the king was received nevertheless with great applause; and the president replied in terms of confidence and respect, expressing the united wish of the assembly to comply with the benevolent and patriotic views of the King. "Such, sir," said he, "is our duty, such are our hopes, and the gratitude and blessings of the people will be our reward." The prospect, however, was quickly overcast. By the king's express desire, on his acceptance of the constitutional act, a decree of indemnity had passed, without any exception whatever, on the condition of their returning to their country within a limited time. But the agent deputed on this commission to the princes of Coblenz, was not only treated with contempt and insult, but actually imprisoned, on pretence of his want of a passport.

In consequence of this outrage, and of the continuance of the hostile preparations of the emigrants, a decree passed the assembly early in November (1791), declaring Prince Louis Stanislaus Xavier to have forfeited, in case he do not return to the kingdom in two months, his eventual claim to the regency; and, by a subsequent decree, the assembly pronounced the French hostilely assembled on the frontier, guilty of a conspiracy against their country, in
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case they did not return before the 1st of January 1792, and should forfeit their estates during their lives, but without prejudice to their children.

On the 18th of November a severe decree passed the assembly against the non-juring clergy, who were accused, with too much reason, of seditious and *incivie* practices.

To both these decrees the king, insensible or careless of consequences, opposed the royal veto. The assembly, astonished at the conduct of the king, addressed him to take effectual measures to prevent the dangers which menaced the country. The king, in reply, assured the assembly, that the emperor had done all that could be expected from a *faithful ally*, by forbidding and dispersing all assemblages of emigrants within his states. And he had acquainted the elector of Treves, that if he did not, before the 15th of January, put a stop to all hostile dispositions, he should be obliged to consider him as the enemy of France.

The Assembly, however, were not lulled to security by these empty professions. Whatever was done in favour of the emigrants by the German princes, was plainly done under the sanction of the emperor; and it was now publicly known that the emperor had, in concert with the king of Prussia, signed a convention at Pilnitz in Saxony, August 1791, in the highest degree inimical to France, although no intimation had been given of this transaction from the executive power to the assembly.

The short-lived popularity of the king was now vanished, never to return. Addresses were presented to the assembly from every quarter of the kingdom, indicating their dissatisfaction with the court, and their confidence in the firmness and patriotism of the assembly. M. de Montmorin, unable to withstand the torrent, resigned his office, and M. de Lessart succeeded.

The republican party, in consequence of the incessant tergiversations of the monarch, gained great strength; and, forming themselves into a club or society, assembled at the convent of the Jacobin Friars, recently dissolved, they acquired the popular, and since famous appellation of Jacobins. The friends of monarchy, on the other hand,
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had, from a similarity of circumstances, obtained the name of Fenillans.

The designs of Leopold gradually unfolded. On the 21st of December, official notice was given to the French ambassador at the court of Vienna, that the emperor, understanding the elector of Treves to be under apprehensions from France, had been *constrained* to order Marshal Bender to march to his relief and protection.

The king, in communicating this intelligence to the assembly, affected great surprise at the resolution of the emperor. "He could not persuade himself that the *good dispositions* of the emperor were changed; and wished to believe that his Imperial majesty had been deceived as to the state of facts, and been made to suppose that the elector had indeed fulfilled all the duties of good neighbourhood."

Preparations were now at last made for war; but the designs of the emperor not being as yet ripe for execution, the elector of Treves thought fit on a sudden to change his tone, and to engage that within eight days the hostile assemblages within his dominions shall be entirely dispersed.

The public discontents and clamors against the king rising very high, and being charged almost openly with treachery to the nation, his majesty was pleased to write (February 17, 1792) a letter to the assembly, contradicting in very haughty terms these injurious reports, propagated by evil-minded people to alarm the public, and calumniate his intentions. "Nothing, he adds, keeps him at Paris but his WILL; and whenever he has reasons to leave it, he will not disguise them."

The correspondence between the courts of Paris and Vienna being laid before the assembly on the 2d of March, it appeared that the Imperial troops in the Netherlands would shortly amount to ninety thousand men. And the dispatch of the Prince de Kaunitz (February 17) openly avowed the concert formed with other powers for *preserving unimpaired* the monarchy of France; and was throughout expressed in terms of menace and hostility, which left no doubt as to the ultimate determination of the Imperial

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court. The assembly, inflamed with this intelligence, rashly and precipitately impeached M. de Lessart for criminal concealment and disobedience. He was succeeded by M. Dumourier.

On the 1st of March (1792) died suddenly of a malignant fever the emperor Leopold II. He was succeeded by his son Francis II. under the title of king of Hungary; but he was after a short interval elected emperor of the Romans. This event made not the least change in the system of Austrian policy. Scarcely was the new monarch seated on his throne, when he communicated to the court of Berlin his determination strictly and literally to adhere to the terms of the treaty of Pilnitz. The king of France at this period, in conformity to his weak and wavering policy, made another effort to regain the ground he had lost, by nominating March 23, after various unpopular dismissals and appointments, M. Roland to the interior department; M. Claviere to that of finance, and soon after M. Servan to be minister of war—men who possessed the entire esteem and confidence of the nation.

The categorical answer of the court of Vienna at length arrived, insisting, “1. on the restitution of the feudal rights of the German princes in Lorraine and Alsace; 2. the restoration of Avignon to the pope; and 3. upon adequate satisfaction that the neighbouring powers shall have no reason for the apprehension which arose from the present weakness of the internal government of France.” The first two of these propositions being inadmissible, and the last unintelligible, war was on the 20th of April declared against the king of Hungary.

At this crisis a very remarkable letter was written in confidence by the king of France to the king of England, doubtless by advice of his present popular ministers, expressing in the most flattering terms his obligations to his Britannic majesty for his impartial conduct, and making the most eager advances to the formation of a treaty of amity and alliance. “Between our two countries,” says the French monarch, “new connexions ought to take place. I think I see the remains of that rivalry which has done so much mischief to both, daily wearing away.
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It becomes two kings who have distinguished their reigns by a constant desire to promote the happiness of their people, to connect themselves by such ties as will appear to be durable in proportion as the two nations shall have clearer views of their own interests. I consider the success of the alliance, in which I wish you to concur with as much zeal as I do, as of the highest importance. I consider it as necessary to the stability of the respective constitutions, and the internal tranquillity of our two kingdoms; and I will add, that our union ought to COM-
MAND PEACE TO EUROPE."

It was indeed evident that at this period England might have commanded peace upon her own terms. Never did this country appear in a higher and more exalted point of view than at this moment; but from that fatality which has governed almost invariably the counsels of the present ministry, she suffered the glorious golden opportunity to pass by unnoticed and unimproved. A distant and evasive answer was returned; England, it was affirmed, could not mediate without the assent and approbation of both the parties—not recollecting certainly the late armed mediation in favor of the Ottoman Porte. And the patriots of France saw clearly from this moment, that the utmost they had to expect from the policy of the English court was a cold and suspicious neutrality.

On the commencement of hostilities M. Rochambeau was constituted commander in chief of the French armies, a separate command being conferred on M. La Fayette. The war began with an unsuccessful attack upon the cities of Tournay and Mons. M. Rochambeau, conceiving disgust at the conduct of the war minister, resigned his command to M. Luckner, a veteran officer, by birth a foreigner, and who had acquired great reputation in the German war of 1756—being then in the service of Hanover. The new general did not disappoint the expectations of the public. On the 18th of June the important town of Courtray surrendered to the arms of France, and the example of Courtray was soon followed by Menin, Ypres, and St. Ghislain; but on a sudden, to the astonishment of the world, these conquests were evacuated, and
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the French armies retreated to their former stations in France. Marshal Luckner subsequently declared, that in this business he acted in strict conformity to the positive orders received from the king, who by this time had again adopted violent and dangerous counsels. Into this perpetual fluctuation of system there enters without doubt at least as much of imbecility as of treachery. Having no clear discernment of his own interest, and placing no reliance upon his own judgment, he was willing in a situation of unparalleled difficulty to make trial of any plan that was recommended to him from any quarter. It was truly said of him, "*La dernier venue avoit presque toujours raison avec lui.*" At the present crisis his characteristic weakness seemed to approach the limits of absolute infatuation.

On the 6th of June a decree passed the assembly, on the suggestion of the military committee, for forming a camp of twenty thousand men in the vicinity of Paris. To this the king refused his sanction. The decree against the refractory clergy, which with some variations had a second time passed the assembly, was also rendered ineffectual by the royal veto; and to crown all, the king on the 12th of June announced in person to the assembly the dismissal of the popular ministers Roland, Servan, and Claviere; and in a short time M. Dumourier also resigned his office. Previous to this event M. Roland wrote that celebrated letter to the king, which, had it not been written otherwise in the rolls of Fate or Providence, might have saved the monarch and the monarchy. "The fermentation is extreme," says this firm and virtuous patriot, "in the various parts of the empire; it will burst upon us with a DREADFUL EXPLOSION, unless it be calmed by a well-founded confidence in your majesty's intentions; but this confidence will not be established by mere promises and protestations—it can rest upon facts only. The French nation know their constitution can sustain itself; that government will have all necessary aid whenever your majesty, wishing well to the Constitution, shall support the legislative body by causing their decrees to be executed, and remove every pretext for popular dissatisfaction, and every

every hope of the malcontents. The revolution is established in the public mind; it will be completed by the effusion of blood, if wisdom do not guard against evils which can YET be prevented. If force were recurred to, all France would rise with indignation; and, distracted by the horrors of a civil war, she would display that gloomy energy, the parent of virtues and of crimes, ever fatal to those who provoke it." After this fatal step, a succession of ministers, or phantoms of ministers, passed rapidly over the stage; the general state of things verged towards anarchy, the pillars of the state seemed to bow, and the fabric of government tottered to its fall.

On the 20th of June an immense crowd assembled in the gardens of the Tuilleries, and, the gates of the palace being thrown open, the populace entered into the apartment of the king. One of their leaders more daring than the rest, producing a red cap, the symbol of liberty, desired the king to put it on. He complied; and, in answer to the incessant and clamorous demands of the mob, he repeatedly declared, "that it was his firm intention to preserve the constitution inviolate." Though the insults which the unfortunate monarch was compelled to endure were grievous, no further injury was sustained, and at the approach of night the people were persuaded to disperse. The king made a formal complaint of this outrage to the assembly; but, in the present situation of things, they could as easily calm the storms of the ocean as the tumults of the people.

At this crisis, M. La Fayette, quitting his army without leave, presented himself unexpectedly at the bar of the assembly, beseeching, or rather demanding, of them "to save their country from ruin, by dissolving the factious clubs, and inflicting exemplary punishment on the late disturbers of the public peace." By this step, that general entirely lost the confidence of the nation, and incurred for this interference, the severe censure of the assembly; and he returned in a short time full of resentment and chagrin to his post in the army.

On the 1st of July it was proclaimed by the assembly,

“that the country was in danger.” “Your constitution, citizens, say they, restores the principles of eternal justice, a league of kings is formed to destroy it—their battalions are advancing.” The political horizon in France exhibited the deepest gloom. On the 14th of July the third anniversary of the revolution was celebrated; but instead of the animating shout of *vive le roi!* nothing was heard but the clamorous vociferations of *vivent les jacobins!* *A bas les VETO!*

It was in a short time after this ceremony announced, that the combined armies of Austria and Prussia had entered France under the duke of Brunswick, who had on the 25th of July issued a proclamation which seemed purposely calculated to complete the ruin of the king. In this famous proclamation the most dreadful vengeance is denounced against the French nation. Such of them as are found in arms against the troops of the allied powers, are threatened to be punished as REBELS to their king, and destroyers of the public tranquillity; and the city of Paris, in case the king, queen, and the royal family are not immediately *set at liberty*, is to be delivered up to the horrors of military execution.

This filled up the measure of the popular fury. It was not doubted but the king had authorized the use thus made of his name, and matters were almost immediately brought to a crisis. On the 3d of August M. Petion at the head of the sections of Paris, appeared at the bar of the national assembly, to demand the DECHEANCE of the king. A petition of the same tenor was presented by a countless multitude on the 6th, and the assembly had appointed the 10th of August to decide upon this grand question, but the discussion was dreadfully anticipated. Early on the morning of the 10th, the palace of the Tuilleries was attacked by the Parisian populace; and being resolutely defended by the Swiss guards, a most bloody conflict took place, which terminated in the total defeat and destruction of the guards, and the sanguinary triumph of the Parisians. The king at the commencement of the engagement had—not certainly in the spirit of Henry IV.—made his retreat across the gardens of the Tuilleries, with

with the queen, to the hall of the assembly, who continued their sitting in the midst of this unexampled scene of terror and confusion, and the incessant noise of musquetry and cannon. All freedom of deliberation was now at an end. A decree passed without debate, declaring the executive power suspended, and summoning a national convention to meet on the 20th of September. The king and queen meanwhile were committed close prisoners to the temple. A most spirited justificatory declaration of the measure of suspension was published by the assembly, concluding with these words: "We have discharged our duty in seizing with courage on the only means of preserving liberty that occurred to our consideration; we shall be spared remorse at least, nor shall we have to reproach ourselves with having seen a means of saving our country and not having embraced it."

On the following day a new provisional executive council was appointed, consisting of the popular ministers, Roland, Servan, and Claviere, dismissed by the king: to whom was added M. le Brun, as minister of foreign affairs. M. Luckner, M. Dumourier, now acting in the capacity of generals in the army, and the other commanders, submitted with readiness to the authority of the assembly. M. Fayette alone attempted resistance; but finding himself wholly unsupported by his troops, he was obliged to make a precipitate escape. Being intercepted in his flight, and delivered up to the Prussians, he was committed close prisoner to the fortress of Spandau, where he has been treated with a severity not to be wholly ascribed to the part taken by him in the *late* revolution. The combined armies of Austria and Prussia in the mean time made a rapid and alarming progress. The town of Longwy surrendered on the 21st of August, and in a few days afterwards that of Verdun; yet even in these circumstances the national assembly had the magnanimity to declare war against the king of Sardinia, who had given repeated and flagrant proofs of his hostile disposition towards France.

Since the deposition of the king, the prisons had been filled with persons accused or suspected of disaffection to the

the existing government; and a sort of phrenzy seizing the populace on the expected approach of the duke, the prisons were forced open on the night of the 2d of September, and a most horrid and indiscriminate massacre of the prisoners took place. It is said, that application being made on this occasion to M. Danton, minister of JUSTICE, to interpose his authority in order to put a stop to these detestable enormities, he replied, "When the people have done their part I will perform mine."

On the 20th of September, the national convention met at Paris, and a decree immediately passed by acclamation for the eternal abolition of royalty in France. Such had been the insidious negligence of the court, that the country was wholly unprepared for its defence; and M. Dumourier, to whom the destiny of France was now entrusted, could scarcely oppose thirty thousand men to the army of the duke of Brunswick, consisting of eighty thousand. With this small force he determined to make a stand at the forest of Argonne, the passes of which after repeated attempts the duke found himself unable to force. The French army receiving continual reinforcements, and the Prussians suffering under the united evils of sickness and famine, he was compelled to the humiliating necessity of commencing his retreat on the 11th of October, and by the 18th, the Austrian and Prussian armies had completely evacuated France. By this time the French arms were triumphant in every quarter. General Montesquiou entering Savoy on the 20th of September, was received with joyful acclamations at Chamberri, the capital, and the whole country submitted almost without resistance. On the other side, the fortress of Montalban and the entire county of Nice were conquered by general Anselm. On the banks of the Rhine, general Custine distinguished himself by the most brilliant successes—reducing successively the cities of Worms, Spire, Mentz, and Frankfort.

Early in November, general Dumourier entered the Austrian Netherlands; and on the 5th of November, a day sacred to liberty, attacking the Austrian entrenchments at Jemappe near Mons, he gained a most complete and signal victory, the consequences of which were decisive

five as to the fate of the Netherlands. Mons instantly surrendered; Tournay, Ostend, Ghent, and Antwerp soon followed; and on the 14th the general made his triumphal entry into Brussels. And before the end of the year, the whole of the Austrian low countries, Luxembourg only excepted, together with the city and territory of Liege, were subjected by the victorious arms of France. Such were the astonishing effects of that enthusiasm, which can only be inspired by the love of FREEDOM !

In the midst of the exultation occasioned by this unexampled series of triumphs, a decree was passed by acclamation in the assembly, November 19, 1792, in the following terms :—" The national convention declare, in the name of the French nation, that they will grant fraternity and assistance to all those people who wish to procure liberty. And they charge the executive power to send orders to the generals to give assistance to such people; and to defend citizens who have suffered and are now suffering in the cause of liberty."

The famous decree, which deserved to be considered in no other light than as a magnificent and empty vaunt, was productive of very strange and serious consequences. Two other decrees of the assembly also demand a specific notice: the one erecting the duchy of Savoy into an 84th department of the French republic, contrary to a fundamental article of the constitution, by which she renounced all foreign conquest: the other, on the capture of Antwerp, declaratory of the freedom of navigation on the river scheldt.

C H A P. XXVIII.

A revolution in Poland—Poland invaded and seized by Russia and Prussia—Assassination of the king of Sweden—The British court recal lord Gower from France—State of parties in England—The parliament meet—Laudable exertions of the opposition against the war—Execution of the king of France—The ministers contend for the necessity of the war—M. Maret arrives from France with powers to treat—The French declare war against the king of England and the stadtholder—The motives of opposition set forth in a motion by Mr. Grey—The supplies—Traitorous correspondence bill—Stagnation of commercial credit—India charter renewed—Motion for a parliamentary reform—The session ends—Prosecutions for libels—Order to seize ships—Affairs of France—Successes of Dumourier in Holland—Siege of Bergen-op-Zoom—New constitution of France—War with Spain—Dumourier retreats through the Netherlands—Commissioners sent to arrest him—Defection of Dumourier—Re organization of the French army—Battle of Famars—Defection of Paoli—The Jacobin party assume the reins of government in France—Siege of Valenciennes—Defeat of the duke of York near Dunkirk—Decree for the French to rise in a mass—General Custine executed—Trial and execution of the queen—Execution of the Brissotines—Of the duke of Orleans—Successes of the French armies—Toulon retaken—Nice refuses to surrender to the English.

[A. D. 1792 to 1793.]

THE spirit of innovation which was at this period set afloat was not confined to France, the Poles having long experienced the perfidy, injustice, and tyranny, of their neighbouring sovereigns, had justly imbibed an ardent love for liberty and independence. In the diet held at Warsaw May 1791, a new constitutional code was announced and promulgated, to the great joy of the nation, deeply sensible

sensible of the evils resulting from her former inefficient and defective form of government. By this new code the crown of Poland was declared to be hereditary, and the executive power vested solely in the monarch. The privileges of the aristocracy were circumscribed within narrower limits, and the blessings of liberty in some degree, extended to the mass of the people. This happy constitution was however scarcely established, before the empress of Russia declared her entire disapprobation of it, and, as the guarantee of the former constitution, ordered an army of one hundred thousand men to enter the territories of the republic.

The Russian generals finding nothing to impede their progress proceeded to Warsaw, and the whole country being now in their hands, the new constitution was forcibly and totally annulled at the ensuing diet of Grodno. The king of Prussia with unblushing perfidy embraced an early opportunity of profiting by the distress of the Poles, and concluded with the empress of Russia a second partition treaty, by which he acquired the possession of nearly the whole of Great Poland, with the cities of Dantzick and Thorn. The diet of Grodno, reduced to the lowest state of national humiliation, was ultimately compelled to ratify all these outrages and usurpations.

The affairs of Sweden at this period were in a perplexed and critical situation. The king, in the beginning of 1792, summoned a diet to meet at Gessle, a solitary and obscure place on the borders of the Bothnic gulf 70 miles from Stockholm. During the sitting of the diet the town was filled with troops. Notwithstanding these precautions, the demands and expectations of the king were by no means answered, and the diet was finally dissolved in anger. On his return to his capital he was assassinated at a masquerade by an officer of the name of Ankerstrom, actuated by the enthusiasm of public and the rancour of personal revenge. His son Gustavus the fourth, a youth of fourteen years of age succeeded to the crown of Sweden. The duke of Sudermania, brother to the late king became regent, and commenced his high office with singular prudence and propriety. Though it
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was generally understood that Gustavus the third, had acceded to what was called by the French the *conspiracy of sovereigns*, the regent maintained a strict and scrupulous neutrality. The same prudent plan was pursued by Denmark under the excellent administration of count Bernstorff. The same salutary system was adopted by the Italian and Helvetic republics; Spain, at this time, agitated by the alternate fluctuations of policy and passion, appeared wavering and indecisive.

The proceedings of the French still continued to attract the earnest attention of Great Britain. The ministry considered the French monarch as virtually deposed in consequence of the transaction of the 10th of August. Lord Gower, therefore, the English ambassador at Paris, received orders from the court of London to quit the kingdom on the plea, that the functions of royalty being suspended, his mission was at an end. This recal was considered by the leading men in France, as a certain indication of the enmity of the British court, nevertheless as a demonstration of their solicitude for peace, they still permitted M. Chauvelin the French ambassador to remain in London. In the mean time the precipitate and imprudent proceedings of some republicans in England served to augment the alarm already spread through the whole aristocracy. On the 7th of November an address from several patriotic societies, in Great Britain, was presented at the bar of the convention, containing indecent reflections upon the government and constitution of their own country. The president of the convention, in answer to this address used expressions full of respect and complacency: and copies of it were ordered to be sent to all the armies and departments of the republic. It appears that the convention from this and similar acts of the British societies, were led erroneously to conclude, that the majority of the people of England at this time were inimical to a monarchical form of government.

The fatal transaction of the 10th of August in particular, affected in a very different manner the different parties into which the nation was divided. The tories heard it with exultation. They regarded it as the accomplish-
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ment of their predictions concerning the new constitution ; they did not scruple to assert, that such must be the fate of every attempt to reform an established government, undertaken upon popular principles ; and they did not hesitate to attribute the basest views, and the most pernicious intentions, to all the friends of liberty both in England and in France. By a singular association, the joy of the republicans was not less excited on this occasion than that of the tories ; and these opposite factions for once experienced a uniformity of sentiment, though upon very different principles. The latter could not fail to rejoice in the downfall of any monarchy, however free and lax its constitution.—The event was considered as a decisive proof, that monarchy is inconsistent with freedom in any form. The erection of so vast a country as France into a republic flattered their vanity, and seemed to confirm their speculations. They anticipated the most splendid exertions from the rising commonwealth ; and the more sanguine among them contemplated, not without a malignant pleasure, the prospect of hostilities with this country, which they conceived by increasing the public burthens might also excite the public discontent, and facilitate those visionary plans of reform, which either from enthusiasm or self-interest they encouraged and approved.

Such were not the sensations of the whigs. That afflicting event not only filled them with horror for the injustice and bloodshed with which it was accompanied : but it annihilated at once those fond hopes which they had cherished, of a rational system of government to be established in France. Though far from perfect, the new constitution of that country afforded an excellent basis on which practical improvements might successively have been founded. Its similarity in the great outlines and principles to the constitution of Britain, was a powerful recommendation to a party who have always been idolators of that constitution ; and if the French system was somewhat more popular than that of Great Britain, they could have no objection to the experiment being tried, whether a monarchical government was consistent with an extension of privileges to the great mass of the

people, which from various circumstances had not been conceded by our own system. The 10th of August, whatever party was the aggressor (whether the king was treacherous, or the people rash and seditious, or whether, as is most probable, both were to blame) destroyed the confidence of the English whigs in the French revolutionists. They saw the danger of overturning a system once received by the people, and the difficulty of establishing a well organized government upon more popular principles; they dreaded the indignation which this conduct must bring down upon the people of France, from all the powers of Europe. Nothing but scenes of blood presented themselves to view; and the rashness of the new administration of France, and the narrow policy of the ministers of Great Britain, they foresaw might involve in hostilities two nations, who, upon every great principal of politics, ought to have been united. In this state of chagrin and despondency, the sound part of the nation withdrew from all connexion with the French, and directed their views to two points: the preservation of our own liberties, and the prevention of a war.

In the mean time the writings of Mr. Paine, circulated with undiminished rapidity among the lower classes of the people, and the unprecedented success of Dumourier in the Netherlands, inspired the English republicans with unusual temerity. The most unguarded language was indulged in: and though the party was but small, yet it was loud; while, on the other hand, every rash and intemperate expression was magnified by the tories into the rumour of a dangerous conspiracy; and a general alarm was excited throughout the nation. The terms jacobin, republican, and leveller, were indiscriminately applied to all who did not devotedly enter into the views of this faction; and from the violence of the tories on the one hand, and of the republicans on the other, the moderate party found their influence and their credit almost annihilated, and the voice of reason and truth was no longer heard, amidst the clamours of contending parties. If the alarm which pervaded the nation did not originate with the adherents of the ministry, they were at least the most
active

active and clamorous in cherishing and confirming the apprehensions and terrors of the people. In the month of November, an association was instituted at the Crown and Anchor tavern by Mr. Reeves, the chief justice of Newfoundland, and other gentlemen connected with administration, the avowed purpose of which was the protection of liberty and property against the daring attempts of republicans and levellers. The example was followed by a similar association in the city of London, and in different districts of the metropolis. The contagion of associating spread through every part of the kingdom; and the experiment at least proved, that the great majority of the nation was decidedly against an alteration of the established government; and that, notwithstanding the influence of Mr. Paine's writings, the actual number of republicans was much smaller than had been represented. —The whig party in general joined the associations, some with eagerness, as participating in the general alarm; some with more caution and reluctance, apprehensive that the consequences might be the involving of the nation in (what was most to be dreaded) a rupture with France. In some instances a saving clause was entered in the resolutions, in favour of temperate reforms at proper seasons; and in some a virtual protest was made against war.

Whether the alarm on the part of administration was real or affected, is a question which must be left to the discussion of the party writers on both sides. Whatever were its principles or its object, it was thought sufficient to justify two extraordinary measures, which are considered only as legal in cases of actual invasion, or a rebellion existing within the kingdom. The parliament, which had been prorogued to January, was convened to meet within fourteen days after the date of the proclamation for its assembling; and the militia was called forth and embodied at the same time.

Posterity will doubt, whether the most *prudent* use was made of that loyal spirit which was manifested on this occasion in every quarter of the kingdom. It would have afforded a wise administration the happiest opportunity of

conferring lasting benefits on the sovereign and on the nation. Impressed with a genuine sense of the excellence of our constitution, we cannot doubt, but that, even if the adherents of republicanism had been more numerous than they really were, the existing laws were sufficient to coerce them; nor can we conceive that any extraordinary measures could be really necessary, when, on the appeal having been made to the people at large, the numbers of the disaffected appeared trifling, and their characters contemptible. The influx of foreigners was also made a subject of alarm, and might perhaps have been prevented in a much gentler mode than that which was adopted; and yet a very small number were found to be of so suspicious a demeanour as to be ordered out of the kingdom, after the alien bill had armed the executive authority with unprecedented powers. We must repeat it, that had the ministry been endued with a proper portion of wisdom and sagacity; had they possessed enlarged views of policy; the executive government might have been strengthened: faction might have been for ever crushed; the most salutary arrangements might have been adopted, for the benefit of the nation at this crisis, without incurring any risk, without increasing the national burthens, without endangering our commerce, without injuring the good temper of the people, or engaging in action the malignant passions.

It has been asserted, that the British ministry very early acceded to the royal confederacy against France; and even that the court of London was a party in the treaties of Pilnitz and of Pavia. We trust that the insinuation is merely the effect of party malevolence. Such a conduct would exhibit so criminal a tissue of hypocrisy and treachery to both nations; so much deception in their continued professions of neutrality; such a disregard to truth and every principle of virtue, that however, injudicious we may deem their conduct, we cannot possibly subscribe to so flagrant an impeachment of their integrity.

To conciliate the people of the Belgic provinces, whose prejudices had been outraged, and whose rights had been invaded, the French convention, in November 1792, conceived

conceived a project for opening the Scheldt from Antwerp, in contradiction to one of the articles of the treaty of Westphalia in 1648, and contrary to the supposed interests of the united provinces. The labours of the historian are little more than a record of the inconsistency of human nature, and the versatility of statesmen. When Joseph II. in the year 1786 entertained a similar project, it is asserted that the British ambassador, sir Joseph Yorke, went purposely "to Antwerp, to instigate the inhabitants of that city to petition the emperor to insist on the free navigation of the Scheldt." It is truly singular, therefore, that what appeared so reasonable at a former period, should now be considered as a sufficient cause for involving the nation in the calamities of war; and what is more singular is, that the British ministry should appear more deeply interested in the prevention of the measure, than the States of Holland themselves. "Lord Auckland," says Mr. Plowden, "was directed to assure their high mightinesses, that as the theatre of war was brought so near to the confines of their republic, his majesty was both ready and determined to execute with the utmost good faith the treaty of 1788. The States, in their answer to this declaration from our court, professed the strongest belief, that no hostile intentions were conceived by any of the belligerent powers against them. The native phlegm of the Hollander begat, in the more peaceful and steady, a real reluctance to believe activity necessary to save their country: an insuperable hatred of the court party induced the more active to dissemble their expectations of what they most ardently wished. Hence the more frequent observation, that *we* had officiously forced their high mightinesses into a war of defence, against their own wishes and inclinations." If we may credit universal report, the *Hollanders* were equally indifferent with respect to the opening of the navigation of the Scheldt, and calmly replied, that if such an event was to take place, they could carry on their commerce at Antwerp as well as at Amsterdam.

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proposed to "grant fraternity and assistance to all those people who wish to procure liberty," &c. constituted another ground of complaint and of alarm, though there was not the smallest token of any intention to invade the territories of Great Britain; though there was not a possibility that any such attempt would have been successful; and though the obnoxious decree can only be considered in the light of a ridiculous gasconade, proceeding from a body of men intoxicated with their late unexpected successes, while in reality they had too much serious business on their hands to admit of their engaging in any new quarrels.

Such was the political state of affairs, internal as well as external, at the meeting of the parliament, which took place on the 13th of December 1792. The speech from the throne intimated, that his majesty had judged it necessary to embody a part of the militia, and to call the parliament together within the time limited for that purpose. It stated as the causes of these measures, the seditious practices which had been discovered, and the spirit of tumult and disorder shewn in acts of riot and insurrection, which required the interposition of a military force in support of the civil magistrate. The industry, it added, employed to excite discontent on various pretexts, and in different parts of the kingdom, appeared to proceed from a design to attempt the destruction of our happy constitution, and the subversion of all order and government; and that this design had evidently been pursued in connection and concert with persons in foreign countries.

His majesty asserted, that he had carefully observed a strict neutrality in the present war on the continent, and had uniformly abstained from any interference with respect to the internal affairs of France; but that it was impossible for him to see without the most serious uneasiness, the strong and increasing indications which had appeared there of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and to pursue views of conquest and aggrandisement, as well to adopt towards his allies the States General, measures which are neither conformable to the law of nations, nor to the positive

sitive stipulations of existing treaties. Under all these circumstances, he felt it his indispensable duty to have recourse to those means of prevention and internal defence with which he was entrusted by law; and thought it right to take some steps for making some augmentation of his naval and military force, being persuaded that these exertions were necessary in the present state of affairs, and were best calculated both to maintain internal tranquillity, and to render a firm and temperate conduct effectual for preserving the *blessings of peace*.

The speech concluded with announcing the brilliant successes of the British arms in India; and with recommending to parliament to adopt such measures as might be necessary, under the present circumstances, for enforcing obedience to the laws, and for repressing every attempt to disturb the peace and tranquillity of these kingdoms.

On the motion for the address on the meeting of parliament the genius of Mr. Fox appeared in the most conspicuous point of eminence and superiority, " This, said he, is the most momentous crisis that I have either known or read of in the history of this country. His majesty's speech contains a variety of assertions of the most extraordinary nature. We are told there exists at this moment an insurrection in this kingdom. Where has it reared its head? Ministers have given us no light whatever, no clue, no information where to find it. We have heard of tumults at Shields, at Leith, at Yarmouth, and Dundee. But were the sailors who demanded an increase of their wages actuated by a design of overthrowing the constitution? It has been alledged as a proof of disaffection, that the countenances of many wore the face of joy when the duke of Brunswick retreated out of France. Are men not to rejoice at the discomfiture of the armies of despotism combating against liberty? Who after reading the manifesto of that minion of tyranny could wish him success without violating every principle of humanity, justice and freedom? Are Englishmen to rejoice or grieve as it suits the caprice or pleasure of the ministers?" When Mr. Fox came to that part of the king's speech which

which related to France he asserted, "that there never was a period when this country had so much reason to wish for peace. Since wars have frequently been prevented by negotiation, why disdain to negotiate now? Because France is a republic we have no minister at Paris. Is the blood and treasure then of this kingdom to be expended for this punctilio?"

Mr. Fox concluded with moving an amendment, simply pledging the house "that enquiry should be made into the facts stated in his majesty's speech." After a debate of many hours the house divided, for the amendment 50, against it 290. In the upper house the address was carried without a division; but not without a powerful opposition from the duke of Norfolk, and the lords Lansdown, Rawdon, and Stanhope.

The great majorities of the minister at this period are to be attributed to the melancholy defection which the opposition had suffered from a secret negotiation between the minister and the Portland party.

In the house of lords the prince of Wales the duke of Portland, and lords Fitzwilliam, Spencer, and Loughborough were at the head of the seceders. The latter nobleman upon the *resignation* of lord Thurlow was advanced to the chancellorship. In the house of commons the cause of the minister received additional support from the talents of Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, sir Gilbert Elliot, Mr. Anstruther, &c. who had forsaken the whig party and acquired the popular appellation of *alarmists*. When the report was brought up the succeeding day, the debate was renewed with great vehemence. Mr. Fox censured ministers for not having interposed the mediation of Great Britain, in order to preserve the peace of Europe. Had we protested against the project concerted at Pilnitz, and armed to prevent the execution of it, England must have acquired such an ascendancy in the councils of France as would have completely obviated all the subsequent causes of dissatisfaction. "If, said he, there exists a discontented or disaffected party in the kingdom, what can so much add to their numbers, or their influence, as a war, which, by increasing the public burthens till they become

become intolerable, will give proportionable weight to their complaints. He wished therefore that war should be avoided if possible—that negotiation should precede hostility. He was fully aware of the arrogant notions of ministers, who perhaps would not condescend to receive a minister from the French republic. If this were the case let ministers fairly avow it—that the people of England might know how far the essential interests of the nation were sacrificed to a *punctilio*. Gentlemen should recollect that it was once fashionable to talk of “a vagrant congress, of one Hancock and one Adams and their crew, but surely the folly of this language had been sufficiently proved.” Mr. Pitt at this time was not a member of the house, having vacated his seat by the acceptance of the lucrative sinecure of the Cinque Ports. Mr. secretary Dundas, on this occasion, *acted the part* of the minister, and entered into a long and elaborate vindication of administration; and he concluded with a confident prediction that “if we were forced into a war, it *must* prove *successful* and *glorious* :” the amendment was negatived without a division.

Notwithstanding the small encouragement that was given to the laudable exertions of Mr. Fox to rescue England from the brink of ruin, to which the vanity and ignorance of the minister was on the point of precipitating it, that “friend to the people” still persevered to act in the line of his duty, and on the 15th of December moved, at the close of a speech which only served to demonstrate the incompetency of the utmost efforts of human wisdom to work conviction in minds distempered by prejudice and passion, “that a minister be sent to Paris to treat with those persons who exercise provisionally, the executive government of France.” This motion was ably supported by Mr. Francis in an excellent speech, in which he complained of the conduct of the ministers, who instead of appealing to the understanding had agitated the feelings of men, by presenting perpetually to their imaginations scenes of horror.

In answer to the absurd and puerile objection, that, if we agreed to a negotiation we should not know with whom

whom to negotiate, Mr. Whitbread asked with much energy and animation, "if we knew with whom we were going to make war? If there was no difficulty in deciding upon that point, how could we pretend to be at a loss to know with whom we were to make peace? Doubtless with that assembly, truly described by his majesty as exercising the power of government in France."

Mr. Grey, Mr. Erskine, and Mr. Adam distinguished themselves in the course of these debates by very able and eloquent speeches on the part of opposition. And the desertion of their *friends*, far from dispiriting the few faithful patriots who remained, seemed to animate them to still higher and more ardent exertions to save their country from the impending storm. The popular odium incurred by these leaders of opposition in consequence of their generous endeavours, will scarcely appear credible to posterity.

On the 19th of December, lord Grenville introduced into the house of lords an act for establishing regulations respecting aliens arriving in this kingdom, and resident therein, in certain cases, generally known under the title of "the alien bill." In discussing this bill the two houses of parliament entered into long and important debates, in which all the arguments for and against commencing hostilities with France were repeated with great vehemence on both sides; but the minister had a sufficient majority to carry every question with the greatest facility. The conduct of Mr. Burke upon this occasion was particularly violent. The bill, he observed was intended to drive out of this country murderers and assassins. He mentioned the circumstance of *three thousand* daggers having been bespoken at Birmingham, by an Englishman, of which seventy had been delivered. It was not ascertained, he said, how many of these were to be exported, and how many were intended for home consumption. (Here Mr. Burke in a theatrical attitude drew from under his coat a dagger, which he had kept concealed, and with much vehemence of action threw it on the floor.) "This said he, pointing to the dagger, is what you are to gain by an alliance with France; wherever their principles are intro-

introduced, their practice must also follow; you must guard against their principles; you must proscribe their persons." The affair of the dagger afterwards proved to be no other than a common order sent to a house in Birmingham (while peace between the two nations existed) to manufacture a certain number of short swords for the French cavalry.

The execution of the king of France which took place on the 21st of January, seems to have accelerated the determination of the British cabinet for war. The correspondence which took place about this time between M. Chauvelin minister plenipotentiary from France and lord Grenville, explains the dispute between the two nations; and as these public papers exceed in consequence and importance almost all that have preceded them in the annals of England and are absolutely necessary to be known, in order to form an impartial judgment upon the great question of the *necessity of the war* we have thought proper to lay the substance of them before our readers in an appendix to this volume.

The message from his majesty which is inserted in the above mentioned papers, was taken into consideration by the commons on the 1st of February, when Mr. Pitt arose and made a deep impression upon the house by a pathetic appeal to their feelings on the late calamitous event (the death of the French king). In the course of his speech he ascribed the late cruelties committed in France to the new fangled principles, propagated in that nation, and passing great encomiums upon the moderate government of England, he began to make some observations upon the papers laid before the house.

The conduct of the French, he said, had been such, as clearly evinced their intention of pursuing a system of the most unlimited aggrandisement, if they were not opposed and checked in their career. Such being their conduct, said the minister, what security has this country against it? Indeed one of the papers upon the table contained, on their part; a positive contract to abstain from any of those acts by which they had provoked the indignation of this country. In this paper they disclaimed all views of
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aggrandizement ; they gave assurances of their good will to neutral nations ; they protested against entertaining an idea of interfering in the government of this country, or making any attempts to excite insurrection. But they had themselves, by anticipation, passed sentenced upon their own conduct.

Respecting our allies, Mr. Pitt in the course of his speech openly granted that the Dutch had made no formal requisition for the assistance of this country.

Lord Beauchamp seconded the motion for an address, and ran over the old ground of argument against the dangerous principles of French anarchy, and on the necessity of the English nation to interfere and put a stop to the ambitious designs and dangerous philosophy of that nation. Mr. Anstruther and Mr. Windham followed the same route, and asserted it as their opinions, that a war with France was *just* and *necessary*.

The opposition side of the house, notwithstanding the desertion of several of their colleagues, persevered with the greatest magnanimity in the cause of humanity, and exerted themselves to the utmost to avert the calamities of war. Mr. Fox contended, with great force of argument, that all the topics to which the chancellor of the Exchequer had adverted, were introduced into the debate to blind the judgment, by exciting the passions, and that they were none of them just grounds of war. With respect to Holland, ministers could not state that the Dutch had called upon us to fulfil the terms of our alliance. As to the decree of the 19th of November, said Mr. Fox, the explanation offered by the French executive council certainly shewed that they were not inclined to insist on that decree ; and that with respect to us at least they were disposed to peace.

After Mr. Fox had clearly confuted the arguments of Mr. Pitt, he proceeded to develop the real intentions and the secret designs of the allied powers in their combined attack upon France. The destruction of the *internal* government of that country and the restoration of despotism, was the principal object of the combined powers, whom it was hoped England would join ; but she could not

not join them heartily, if her object was one thing while theirs was another. "To this then ministers were reduced at last, that they were *ashamed to own* engaging to aid the restoration of despotism, and therefore they *collusively* sought *pretexts* in the Scheldt and the Netherlands." The question for the address was carried without a division.

The marquis of Stafford on the 28th of January presented to the house of lords a message from his majesty similar to that presented to the commons, and in a few days afterwards an address was voted to the king in the same manner as in the lower house. The train of reasoning made use of upon this occasion was nearly the same as that just mentioned. The marquis of Lansdowne in replying to the ministerial side of the house, declared it as his opinion, that if our court had sent an able and experienced minister to Paris, to intercede for the life of Louis the XVIth, that unfortunate monarch would have been spared. He discussed the policy of the war in a variety of lights, and endeavoured to prove that it would be a *wanton* war on our part, without the least provocation on the part of France. In stating the provocation offered to that country by the ministers in this, he mentioned the embargo on the exportation of corn to that country, in the miserable idea of starving the people for want of bread, and the ordering of M. Chauvelin away, in a manner so offensive, that it was, by an article of the commercial treaty, in itself a declaration of hostilities.

The earls Stanhope and Lauderdale pointed out with equal force and energy the impolicy of the war, and the evils which would probably fall upon this country from the adoption of such rash, wanton, vain, and puerile measures.

Whatever were the intentions of the British ministry, however, they were completely anticipated by the rashness of the French convention. Disgusted by the dismissal of M. Chauvelin, and with the refusal of the cabinet of St. James's to treat with M. Maret, who arrived from France about this period with extended powers, and, it is said, with some considerable concessions, the French convention on the 1st of February decreed a declaration of

war against his Britannic majesty, and the stadtholder of the United Provinces.

This precipitate step of the new republicans gained Mr. Pitt a considerable degree of popularity, particularly among the uninformed part of the English nation, who in contemplating the *plain* and *open* declaration of war, forgot the various artful insults and aggressions, virtually amounting to a commencement of hostilities, already committed by the British minister, and from thence drew an erroneous conclusion that the French were the first aggressors.

On the 11th of February a message from his majesty was delivered to the commons, announcing the public declaration of war made by the French. The next day, when the message was taken into consideration, long and violent debates ensued, in which the ministers defended themselves upon their old ground, and urged the justice and necessity of the war on their part. The opposition, on the contrary, reprobated the conduct of administration as rash and imprudent in the extreme, in provoking the declaration in question by their improper behaviour to the French ambassador, and their absolute refusal to accommodate the differences between the two nations by fair and candid negociation. The members on this side the house at this time were dwindled to about fifty in number, but the superiority of their reasoning, and their virtuous perseverance in the cause in which they had embarked in spite of threats and promises, more than counterbalanced their paucity, and will be admired by posterity. From this disparity of number it is a clear deduction, that the minister carried *all his own measures* through the commons, and procured the rejection of those proposed by his opponents with equal facility. But that the sentiments of these patriots, upon the conduct of ministers and the causes of the war, might remain unequivocally recorded, a motion was made by Mr. Grey, on the 21st of February for an address to his majesty, which is inserted below*.

Mr.

* " That an humble address be presented to his majesty,

Mr. Wilberforce made several unsuccessful motions respecting the abolition of the slave trade; but the formality

jeſty, to aſſure his majeſty that his faithful commons, animated by a ſincere and dutiful attachment to his perſon and family, and to the excellent conſtitution of this kingdom, as well as by an ardent zeal for the intereſt and honour of the nation, will at all times be ready to ſupport his majeſty in any meaſures which a due obſervance of the faith of treaties, the dignity of his crown, or the ſecurity of his dominions may compel him to undertake.

“That, feeling the moſt earneſt ſolicitude to avert from our country the calamities of war, by every means conſiſtent with honour and with ſafety, we expreſſed to his majeſty, at the opening of the preſent ſeſſion, ‘our ſenſe of the temper and prudence which had induced his majeſty to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality with reſpect to the war on the continent, and uniformly to abſtain from any interference in the internal affairs of France;’ and our hope that the ſteps his majeſty had taken would have the happy tendency ‘to render a firm and temperate conduct effectual for preſerving the bleſſings of peace.’

“That, with the deepeſt concern, we now find ourſelves obliged to relinquish that hope, without any evidence having been produced to ſaſtify us that his majeſty’s miniſters have made ſuch efforts as it was their duty to make, and as, by his majeſty’s moſt gracious ſpeech, we were taught to expect, for the preſervation of peace.—It is no leſs the reſolution than the duty of his majeſty’s faithful commons to ſecond his efforts in the war thus fatally commenced, ſo long as it ſhall continue; but we deem it a duty equally incumbent upon us to ſolicit his majeſty’s attention to thoſe reaſons or pretexts, by which his ſervants have laboured to juſtify a conduct on their part which we cannot but conſider as having contributed, in a great meaſure, to produce the preſent rupture.

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lity of examining evidence at the bar of the house of lords procrastinated this business, and left it still in suspense.

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tuted such an urgent and imperious case of necessity as left no room for accommodation, and made war unavoidable. The government of France has been accused of having violated the law of nations, and the stipulations of existing treaties, by an attempt to deprive the republic of the United Provinces of the exclusive navigation of the Scheldt. No evidence, however, has been offered to convince us that this exclusive navigation was, either in itself or in the estimation of those who were alone interested in preserving it, of such importance as to justify a determination in our government to break with France on that account. If, in fact, the States General had shewn a disposition to defend their right by force of arms, it might have been an instance of the truest friendship to have suggested to them, for their serious consideration, how far the assertion of this unprofitable claim might, in the present circumstances of Europe, tend to bring into hazard the most essential interests of the republic.—But when, on the contrary, it has been acknowledged that no requisition on this subject was made to his majesty on the part of the States General, we are at a loss to comprehend on what grounds of right or propriety we take the lead in asserting a claim in which we are not principals, and in which the principal party has not, as far as we know, thought it prudent or necessary to call for our interposition.

“ We must further remark, that the point in dispute seemed to us to have been relieved from a material part of its difficulty by the declaration of the minister of foreign affairs in France, that the French nation gave up all pretensions to determine the question of the future navigation of the Scheldt. Whether the terms of this declaration were perfectly satisfactory or not, they at least left the question open to pacific negotiation; in which the intrinsic value of the object, to any of the parties concerned in it, might have been coolly and impartially weighed
against

Of the alarm which had been excited throughout the kingdom, concerning plots and conspiracies, a very insidious

against the consequences to which all of them might be exposed by attempting to maintain it by force of arms.

“ We have been called upon to resist views of conquest and aggrandizement entertained by the government of France, ‘ at all times dangerous to the general interests of Europe, but, asserted to be ‘ peculiarly so, when connected with the propagation of principles which lead to the violation of the most sacred duties, and are utterly subversive of the peace and order of all civil society.’

“ We admit, that it is the interest and duty of every member of the commonwealth of Europe to support the established system, and distribution of power among the independent sovereignties, which actually subsist, and to prevent the aggrandizement of any state, especially the most powerful, at the expence of any other; and, for the honour of his majesty’s councils, we do most earnestly wish, that his ministers had manifested a just sense of the importance of the principle to which they now appeal, in the course of late events, which seemed to us to threaten its entire destruction.

“ When Poland was beginning to recover from the long calamities of anarchy, combined with oppression; after she had established an hereditary and limited monarchy like our own, and was peaceably employed in settling her internal government, his majesty’s ministers, with apparent indifference and unconcern, have seen her become the victim of the most unprovoked and unprincipled invasion; her territory overrun, her free constitution subverted, her national independence annihilated, and the general principles of the security of nations wounded through her side. With all these evils was France soon after threatened; and with the same appearance either of supine indifference, or of secret approbation, his majesty’s ministers beheld the armies of other powers (in evident concert with the oppressor of Poland) advancing to the invasion and subjugation of France, and the march of

dious use had been made by writers on the side of the ministry, and even some allusions had escaped in both houses,

those armies distinguished from the ordinary hostilities of civilized nations by manifestos, which, if their principles and menaces had been carried into practice, must have inevitably produced the 'return of that ferocity and barbarism in war, which a beneficent religion, and enlightened manners, and true military honour, have for a long time banished from the christian world.'

"No effort appears to have been made to check the progress of these invading armies:—His majesty's ministers, under a pretended respect for the rights and independence of other sovereigns, thought fit at that time to refuse even the interposition of his majesty's counsels and good offices to save so great and important a portion of Europe from falling under the dominion of a foreign power. But no sooner, by an ever memorable reverse of fortune, had France repulsed her invaders, and carried her arms into their territory, than his majesty's ministers, laying aside that collusive indifference which had marked their conduct during the invasion of France, began to express alarms for the general security of Europe, which, as it appears to us, they ought to have seriously felt, and might have expressed with greater justice, on the previous successes of her powerful adversaries.

"We will not dissemble our opinion, that the decree of the national convention of France of the 19th of November 1792, was in a great measure liable to the objections urged against it; but we cannot admit that a war, upon the single ground of such a decree, unaccompanied by any overt acts, by which we or our allies might be directly attacked, would be justified as necessary and unavoidable. Certainly not—unless, upon a regular demand made by his majesty's ministers of explanation and security in behalf of us and our allies, the French had refused to give his majesty such explanation and security. No such demand was made. Explanations, it is true, have been received and rejected. But it well deserves to be

houses, the obvious intent of which was indirectly to implicate the whig members in the obnoxious charge.

To

he remarked and remembered, that these explanations were voluntarily offered on the part of France, not previously demanded on ours, as undoubtedly they would have been, if it had suited the views of his majesty's ministers to have acted frankly and honourably towards France, and not to have reserved their complaints for a future period, when explanations, however reasonable, might come too late, and hostilities might be unavoidable.

“ After a review of all those considerations, we think it necessary to represent to his majesty, that none of the points which were in dispute between his ministers and the government of France, appear to us to have been incapable of being adjusted by negotiation, except that aggravation of French ambition, which has been stated to arise from the political opinions of the French nation. These indeed, we conceive, formed neither any definable object of negotiation, nor any intelligible reason for hostility. They were equally incapable of being adjusted by treaty, or being either refuted or confirmed by the events of war.

“ We need not state to his majesty's wisdom, that force can never cure delusion; and we know his majesty's wisdom too well to suppose, that he could ever entertain the idea of employing force to destroy opinions by the extirpation of those who hold them.

“ The grounds, upon which his majesty's ministers have advised him to refuse the renewal of some avowed public intercourse with the existing government of France, appeared to us neither justified by the reason of the thing itself, nor by the usage of nations, nor by any expediency arising from the present state of circumstances. In all negotiations or discussions whatsoever, of which peace is the real object, the appearance of an amicable disposition, and of a readiness to offer and to accept of pacific explanations on both sides, is as necessary and useful to ensure

To obviate at once these base and injurious attacks, Mr. Sheridan, with a manliness which appears to have con-
founded

ensure success, as any arguments founded on strict right. Nor can it be denied, that claims or arguments of any kind, urged in hostile or haughty language, however equitable or valid in themselves, are more likely to provoke than to conciliate the opposite party. Deploring, as we have ever done, the melancholy event which has lately happened in France, it would yet have been some consolation to us to have heard, that the powerful interposition of the British nation on this subject had at least been offered, although it should unfortunately have been rejected. But instead of receiving such consolation from the conduct of his majesty's ministers, we have seen them with extreme astonishment employing, as an incentive to hostilities, an event which they had made no kind of effort to avert by timely and prudent negotiation. This inaction they could only excuse on the principle, that the internal conduct of nations (whatever may be our opinion of its morality) was no proper ground for interposition and remonstrance from foreign states;—a principle, from which it must still more clearly follow, that such internal conduct could never be an admissible, justifying reason for war.

“ We cannot refrain from observing, that such frequent allusions as have been made to an event confessedly no ground of rupture, seemed to us to have arisen from a sinister intention to derive, from the humanity of Englishmen, popularity for measures which their deliberate judgment would have reprobated, and to influence the most virtuous sensibilities of his majesty's people into a blind and furious zeal for a war of vengeance.

“ His majesty's faithful commons therefore, though always determined to support his majesty with vigour and cordiality in the exertions necessary for the defence of his kingdoms, yet feel that they are equally bound by their duty to his majesty, and to their fellow-subjects, to declare, in the most solemn manner, their disapprobation of the
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founded his adversaries, on the 4th of March gave a fair and open challenge to the partizans of ministers, and reduced them to the predicament of producing publicly the ground of their allegations, or tacitly to admit, by rejecting his motion, that such insinuations, with respect to himself and his friends, were neither more nor less than palpable and *shameless falsehoods*, only calculated to impose on the very credulous part of the nation. The substance of the motion which Mr. Sheridan submitted to the house that day was, "That the house of commons, on the succeeding Monday should resolve itself into a committee to consider of the seditious practices, &c. referred to in his majesty's speech."

The object of his motion he candidly stated to be, to inquire into the truth of the reports of sedition in this country; to know in what situation this country really was; and to ascertain whether the language made use of
by

the conduct of his majesty's ministers throughout the whole of these transactions; a conduct which, in their opinion, could lead to no other termination but that, to which it seems to have been studiously directed, of plunging this country into an unnecessary war. The calamities of such a war must be aggravated, in the estimation of every rational mind, by reflecting on the peculiar advantages of that fortunate situation which we have so unwisely abandoned, and which not only exempted us from sharing in the distresses and afflictions of the other nations of Europe, but converted them into sources of benefit, improvement, and prosperity to this country.

"We therefore humbly implore his majesty's paternal goodness to listen no longer to the councils which have forced us into this unhappy war, but to embrace the earliest occasion, which his wisdom may discern, of restoring to his people the blessings of peace*."

The motion was made by Mr. Grey without any previous speech; and the signal for negativing it was given in a few words by the chancellor of the exchequer, who did not enter into any discussion on the subject.

* Jordan's Debates, vol. ii. p. 42—46.

by his majesty's ministers upon the subject of sedition, conspiracy, and treason, was not at least premature at the time it was uttered, and consequently that nothing had happened in this country that could justify government in the steps they had taken, and the proceedings they had instituted. He said, he really believed in his conscience that *the alarm was spread for the express purpose* of diverting the attention of the public for a while, and afterwards *leading them more easily into a war.*

He took notice of the hardships under which many individuals laboured, in consequence of this false alarm having been sounded; publicans had been told by different magistrates of the effect of their allowing any conversation upon politics in their houses, that if they conducted themselves in the least displeasing to the court, they should lose their licences; and still farther they were asked what *news-papers* they took in.

The motion was ably seconded by Mr. Lambton, and Mr. Windham replied to it; and though it was finally negatived without a division it was not without its effect; since, as the adherents of ministers by this conduct evidently declined the challenge to enter upon a fair inquiry, it completely exonerated the whig party from the illiberal insinuations to which they had before been exposed.

On the 11th of March, Mr. Pitt stated to the house in a committee of supply the total of the estimated expences of the current year to be 11,182,213*l.* To defray these expences he estimated the ways and means at 8,299,696*l.* He observed, that after every other resource there would be wanting a loan of 2,900,000*l.* He said that with respect to the expences of the navy, for which there had been already voted 45,000 seamen, he would by no means have it understood, that this was the whole number which it might be necessary to employ. A few days before the sitting of this committee of the whole house, resolutions had passed for four millions of exchequer bills, and on the 11th of April a bill was introduced and soon afterwards passed, for granting one million and a half to his

majesty

majesty to defray the extraordinary expences of the present year.

The bill known by the name of the traiterous correspondence bill passed this session; in the debates upon it were introduced all the arguments for and against the war, which had been used on former occasions, the bill was ably opposed by the anti-ministerial side of the house, and reprobated as unconstitutional and unnecessary, there being already laws in force for the prevention of carrying on a traiterous correspondence with the enemies of our country.

While this bill was in agitation a liberal and humane proposal was made by the French ministry to lord Grenville, for putting an end to the calamities of war, by an amicable negotiation; and a passport was even demanded for M. Maret, who was to be invested with full powers to treat. The letters from M. Le Brun, were brought over by an English gentleman, with proper attestations of their authenticity, and by him delivered to the noble secretary. That no notice was taken of this generous application, can only be accounted for by that puerile arrogance which unhappily appeared in every instance to have characterized the proceedings of this administration.

About this period the frequency of bankruptcies in London and the principal trading towns in England, had caused almost a general stagnation of commercial credit. To remedy this alarming evil, Mr. Pitt proposed the aid of parliament. A bill was accordingly introduced and passed into a law for issuing five millions by exchequer bills to be lent to persons under certain circumstances at the rate of five per cent. upon a deposit of goods or other security sufficient to insure the repayment within a limited time. Certain commissioners were appointed, under whose direction the whole plan was carried into execution. On the 23d of April Mr. Dundas introduced a bill for the renewal of the charter of the East India company, and for the future government of India. The general purport of the bill was little more than a continuation of the former plan, except that clause which enacts "that the company shall

shall be permitted to carry on their exclusive trade, within the limits now enjoyed by them, for a further term of twenty years, to be computed from the first of March 1794."

Encouraged by petitions from Sheffield, Birmingham, and from various other places, as well as one from the respectable society of "the friends of the people," Mr. Grey on the 6th of May, made a motion for a parliamentary reform. But with those already acquainted with the spirit and genius of the minister, the fate of this motion was readily anticipated and foreseen. According to his language in the time of peace the nation was too prosperous to render any reform necessary, and in time of war it was dangerous to excite the minds of the people by any innovation.

The motion was seconded in an able speech by the honourable Thomas Erskine and after some *expected* invectives from Mr. Windham, against the petitioners for a parliamentary reform, the question of adjournment was carried by 181 against 109. The next day the discussion was resumed, when Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt exerted their talents on opposite sides of the question. Mr. Fox observed, speaking of the dereliction of Mr. Pitt's former principles, that as lord Foppington said in the play, "I begin to think that when I was a commoner, I was a very nauseous fellow," so the minister began to think, that when he was a reformer, he must have been a very foolish fellow. When the house divided for referring the petition to a committee, there appeared for the question 41, against it 282.

On the 21st of June his majesty put an end to the session by a speech from the throne, to both houses of parliament, in which he mentions "the rapid and signal successes which in an early part of the campaign had attended the operations of the combined armies; and that the powerful force which the commons had enabled him to employ by sea and land, and the measures which he had concerted with other powers, for the effectual prosecution of the war, afforded the best prospect of an happy issue

to the important contest in which he and his people were engaged."

The formidable reports which had been industriously propagated of plots and conspiracies, had, as we have already seen, excited the most alarming apprehensions in the people of Great Britain, and the least that was expected by many was, that the scaffolds and gibbets would be loaded with the bodies of these desperate and dangerous traitors and conspirators. But what was the surprise of the public when they found the whole of these alarms terminate in the prosecution of a bookseller, for vending Paine's Rights of Man, in England*; and that of two gentlemen in Scotland, who had appeared as advocates for a parliamentary reform!

Whatever may be our sentiments upon this subject, we cannot but remember that the *project* of a *parliamentary reform* was one of the *steps*, by which the present minister ascended to power; we cannot but remember that he was a member and a promoter of associations for that very purpose; that most of his colleagues have avowed the same principles, and in times, we think, the most critical and dangerous; and that the wildest theory, in our opinion, which has yet been offered on the subject, was that which was proposed by the duke of Richmond in his celebrated letter to colonel Sharman.

It was therefore not without surprise that the people observed the same ministry, who had been the most active persons in promoting and recommending the measure, now ordering a prosecution against those who held similar sentiments with themselves. "Mr. Muir," says a respectable writer, "was the first person found guilty of sedition for the part he had taken at different meetings convened for the purpose of bringing about reform: he was sentenced by the court *to be transported beyond the seas to such*

* We should have mentioned that a bill-sticker was also condemned to some months imprisonment; and a journeyman tallow-chandler committed for seditious words; but such events are beneath the dignity of history.

place as his majesty, with the advice of his privy council, should judge proper, for the space of fourteen years. Mr. Palmer was also condemned to be transported for seven years, for a similar offence. The severity of these sentences, which it is to be presumed were intended to deter people from pursuing the same object, did not produce the effect which was intended or expected. Mr. Muir was conveyed in the dead of the night on board a king's ship in Leith roads. Most of the societies in that part of the kingdom immediately published declarations of their resolutions to persevere in their peaceable endeavours to procure a reform of the abuses of which they complained. The amiable qualities of the individuals who were condemned, excited a general sympathy for their sufferings; and the general predilection for the opinions upon parliamentary reform, to which they were looked upon as martyrs, provoked discussions upon the very question."

Mr. Muir was one of the faculty of advocates, and was tried before the high court of justiciary, at Edinburgh; and Mr. Palmer was a member of the university of Cambridge, but was settled as a dissenting minister at Dundee, where he was tried before the circuit court of justiciary, on the 17th of September.

It was proved on the trial of Mr. Palmer, that he was not the author of the libel for which he was indicted, but that he only corrected it and ordered it to be printed. It was also contended in vain, with much strong argument and fair reference to the statutes, that the crime with which both of the gentlemen in question were charged, was that of *leasing making*, or *public libel*; the express punishment for which is prescribed by the law of Scotland to be *fine*, *imprisonment*, or *banishment*, under which last term the punishment of *transportation* could not be included, that being a punishment of a much severer nature than simple banishment. Messieurs Muir and Palmer have been since transported to Botany Bay.

Not discouraged by these rigorous sentences, some of the partisans of parliamentary reform proceeded in the month of November to assemble at Edinburgh, in what they

they chose to term a "British convention." The members of this curious association were neither numerous nor respectable, and the circumstances under which they assembled were such, that on the first report of their proceedings appearing in the newspapers, men of sense were generally impressed with the idea, that the whole was a fabrication intended to burlesque the reformers. They saluted each other by the title of *citizen*, and mingled the solemn with the ridiculous in so singular a style, that we remember the time when the whole would have terminated in a harmless laugh. But when nothing great or illustrious marks the conduct of an administration, the dispersion of a spouting club, or the prosecution of an alehouse association, are important achievements.

The ardour with which the British ministry embarked in the war against France was presently manifested by perhaps the most extraordinary proceedings that ever appeared upon record; and this was, to force the neutral powers to unite in the combination to crush the French republic.

"Our ambassador at Copenhagen (says Mr. Plowden*) entered into a correspondence of argument with count Bernstorff, the minister of the Danish cabinet, upon the propriety and necessity of their entering into the armed confederacy against France. Hitherto the prudent Dane has not been argued out of his neutrality; what other means may hereafter be attempted to induce or force him from it, time will disclose.

"The republic of Genoa, having large property in France, was induced to observe the strictest neutrality, to depart from which would be the ruin of the principal citizens of that state. The government itself is said to receive upon loans to France the annual sum of 1,400,000 livrés. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Drake, the British envoy to that state, preremptorily insisted upon an immediate and unqualified declaration of hostilities against France; no indemnification was however offered for the sure loss in that case of the property of their citizens or

* History of the last 20 Months, p. 350—552

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the state. This spirited though small republic was not to be bullied into destruction and ruin, and has declared, that if she be to be forced from her neutrality, she never can take part with those who have threatened her with such unprovoked injustice.

“ Our envoy at Florence, lord Hervey, undertook not only to intimidate the grand duke of Tuscany out of his neutrality, by sending off the French ambassador M. de la Flotte in twenty-four hours, but to dictate to him the internal regulations concerning the French remaining within his territories, which the British cabinet insisted upon. This was singular conduct in Great Britain towards the brother of the emperor, who was the first engaged in the war against France, and who must have known the true interest, and had more influence over the conduct of his own brother, than any foreign power whatever. The grand duke, however, relinquished the system of neutrality, and declared war against the republic on the 10th of October.”

It is a trite remark, that there is no stronger evidence of a weak character and undisciplined mind, than a wavering, uncertain, and inconsistent conduct; and this we have too frequently had occasion already to remark in the proceedings of the present administration. It was manifested in the late dispute with Russia, and it was still more glaringly displayed in the course of the year 1793, with respect to America. What might be the object or intentions of ministry with regard to the latter power, we are at a loss to conceive; but thus far is evident, that the Americans have repeatedly complained of the seizure and confiscation of their vessels by the British cruizers; and on the 6th of November an order was issued, which, had it not been seasonably recalled, must in all probability have once more involved us in a calamitous war with the United States. The order was as follows:

“ GEORGE R.

“ Additional instructions to the commanders of all our ships of war and privateers, that have L.S. or may have, letters of marque against France.

Given

Given at our court, at St James's the 6th day of November 1793, in the thirty-fourth year of our reign.

“ That they shall stop and detain all ships laden with goods, the produce of any colony belonging to France, or carrying provisions or other supplies for the use of such colony, and shall bring the same, with their cargoes, to legal adjudication in our courts of admiralty.

“ By his majesty's command,
“ HENRY DUNDAS.”

Why this order was issued, or why it was revoked, it is impossible to say. The politics of Mr. Pitt are entirely of a novel species, and are so contrary to those of all preceding statesman, as to baffle every effort of the historian to explain or comprehend them.

In the course of the winter, general Dumourier had proposed to the executive council to take possession of Maestricht, without which he alleged he could neither defend the Meuse, nor the territory of Liege. He purposed to take and hold the place without entering into further hostilities with the Dutch, and engaging, by manifesto, to restore it at the end of the war. The place was not then palisadoed, nor provided with a proper garrison; and general Dumourier being at that time in great force in the neighbourhood of Liege, there was every probability that he would have succeeded. The executive council, much to their honour, declined the proposal, and expressly commanded the general to preserve the strictest neutrality towards the United Provinces. This circumstance affords an additional proof that the French had no intention to provoke hostilities with England or their allies, before the unfortunate dispute was entered into with the British ministry, the particulars of which we have just related.

As hostilities, however, had actually commenced, the possession of Holland was an object of the utmost moment to the French, and must, indeed, have been decisive of the war in their favour. Had Dumourier continued faithful, there is little doubt but that the project would have been attended with success; but, on the other hand, there is some probability, that if certain arrangements had not
been

been previously made with this celebrated commander, Great Britain and Holland would not have been so precipitate in entering into the dispute. Thus both parties were possibly deceived in the commencement of the war. The French flattered themselves with the immediate capture of Holland; while the allies, depending on the treachery of Dumourier, might look with confidence forward to no less an object than the immediate subjugation of France.

Circumstanced as general Dumourier was at this period, it is difficult to ascertain what was his plan of the campaign. He has himself intimated that it was long his fixed intention to effect an escape into some other country; and, with such a design predominant in his mind, there is no probability that he would be very earnest in promoting the success of his expedition.

The general himself has in his memoirs stated two plans; the first of which was proposed by the refugee Hollanders, who had formed a very small revolutionary committee at Antwerp, and who recommended an irruption into Zealand; the other was the plan which the general himself gives, as that which he really meant to pursue, while he appeared to favour that of the Batavian committee; and this was, to advance with a body of troops posted at Mordyck, and masking Breda and Gertruydenberg on the right, and Bergen-op-Zoom, Steenberg, Klundert, and Williamstadt on the left, to effect a passage over an arm of the sea to Dort, and thus penetrate into the heart of Holland.

In the mean time general Miranda was ordered to advance with a part of his army before Maestricht, but was instructed by general Dumourier not to attempt a regular siege at so unfavourable a season, but to assault the place with bombs and red hot balls; and, after receiving intelligence that the commander in chief had passed Mordyck, to leave the continuance of the siege to general Valence, who was expected from Paris, and march with the utmost expedition to Nimeguen, and in passing the duchy of Cleves to intercept the Prussians, should they have anticipated his arrival there. Venlo was at the same
time

time to be attacked by general Champmorin, an experienced engineer.

It will remain for our military readers to determine, whether, as so much of the success of Dumourier's expedition depended on the rapidity of his movements, and the surprising of Holland at once by the invasion of a considerable force, it was advisable or prudent to divide his army into many detachments, or to waste any part of his time or force in besieging places which did not lie directly in his route. Maestricht was invested early in February by general Miranda, with 12,000 men on the banks of the Meuse, and 6,000 on the right: and by the 23d of that month the works were all completed. On the following day the French general summoned the prince of Hesse, who commanded there, but his answer was a direct refusal to capitulate. The French then commenced a heavy fire from their batteries, and according to the account of the general, the town was on fire in several places. While the French were constructing their works, the garrison made two sallies, but with little success.

In the mean time general Dumourier assembled his army in the vicinity of Antwerp. Previous to his entering the Dutch territories, he published a manifesto, addressed to the Batavians, as he thought proper to term them, exhorting them, in extravagant terms, to emancipate themselves at once from what he called the tyrannical yoke of the stadtholder. The French army under Dumourier consisted of twenty-one battalions, only two of which however were troops of the line; he estimates them himself at about 13,700 men, including cavalry and light troops. This army entered the Dutch territories on the 17th of February, but it was the 22d before the general was enabled to proceed from Antwerp to join it. His first movement was to block up Breda; by means of his right division under general D'Arçon; and colonel Le Clerc, with the left, was ordered at the same time to block up Bergen-op-Zoom. The governors of these places abandoned all their outworks! and Breda, at the time of its attack, was in a state of inundation.

On

On the 23d of February, count Byland, the governor of Breda, was summoned by the French commander to surrender; and on his refusal, general D'Arçon, without opening the trenches, mounted two batteries, with four mortars and four howitzers, very near the town, on the side of the village of Hage. The bombardment continued some hours, but ceased at night. On the succeeding day the French renewed the attack with great spirit; and one of Dumourier's aides-du-camp being despatched to renew the summons, with assurances that the general was preparing to bring up his whole force, the governor was terrified into a capitulation. The garrison was allowed the honours of war; and only twenty men were lost on both sides.

The fort of Klundert was taken by general Dumourier on the 26th. It was defended with great valour by lieutenant-colonel Westphalien; but his garrison amounted to only 150 men. General Dumourier next despatched general Berneron to the attack of Williamstadt, and general D'Arçon to Gertruydenburg, and on the 4th of March the latter place surrendered on capitulation.

At this place ended the triumphs of Dumourier. The sieges of Williamstadt and Bergen-op-Zoom were however vigorously pressed by generals Berneron and Le Clerc; and the commander in chief, by means of a number of craft which he procured at Gertruydenberg, was preparing at Mordyck a naval equipment to transport his little army to Dort. He was interrupted in his career, if we may credit his own account, by the unfortunate change which took place in the Netherlands; though it will long remain in doubt, how far the whole failure was a concerted plan between the general and the combined powers. So confidently was the arrival of general Dumourier expected in Holland by the republican party there, that it is said an hotel was actually fitted up at Utrecht for his reception.

While these affairs were transacting, the committee appointed by the national convention for the revival of the constitution, were sedulously employed in the completion of their task. On the 15th of February the new constitution

constitution was presented to the convention by Condorcet, who was generally supposed to have had the principal share in its composition. The features which particularly distinguished it from the former constitution, besides the abolition of royalty, were as follow: The electoral assemblies were abolished, and the members of the legislature were to be appointed immediately by the primary assemblies. The executive council, or in other words the ministers, were to be elected by the people at large; and only to be dismissed on the verdict of a special jury, on the prosecution of the national assembly. To prevent too frequent elections, a number of supplementary candidates for each department of office were however to be elected at the same time with the actual functionaries. The office of minister of justice was to be suppressed; and the home administration divided into three departments. The administration of districts, and the small municipalities, were also suppressed.

As this constitution was never decreed, and was almost immediately supplanted by another, it would be utterly superfluous minutely to criticise its principles or institutes.

The next important business in which the convention was engaged, was a rupture with Spain. The arrogant manner in which that monarch's truly liberal application in favour of Louis was treated, is truly deserving of censure. Pride, however exercised, is always disadvantageous to the character of individuals, nor is it less prejudicial to the interest of nations. After such an event, it may well be supposed that the king of Spain could not be very cordially disposed towards the French nation; and pressed by the other combined powers, it is not improbable that he meditated hostilities. The convention, however, with that singular precipitancy which characterized all their measures, determined to anticipate his declaration, and on the 7th of March passed a decree of war against his most catholic majesty.

Before we review the reverse of fortune which the French nation experienced in the Netherlands, it may be proper to advert to the unfortunate expedition which was undertaken against Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia. A

French

French fleet, under the command of admiral Truguet, which had sailed from Toulon, anchored before the town, and commenced a vigorous cannonade against it on the twenty-fourth of January; but as all the transports with the land forces were not arrived, the admiral ordered the firing to cease on the 29th. The volunteers, however, being impatient to land, after using every argument to convince them how dangerous it must be to make an attempt without a sufficient force, M. Truguet at length consented, and gave orders for their landing on the 14th of February. Four ships and two bomb-ketches were posted before the town, and nearly the same force was placed between the town and a small mountain defended by batteries: another came to anchor before the town to batter it, and three ships and three frigates were employed in covering the landing of the troops. Of all these ships the Themistocles alone did execution; but she was set on fire by a red-hot ball, and the captain was wounded in the leg, and died four days after. In the night the Themistocles was obliged to retire. The Patriot, which kept up a continual fire for three days and three nights, expended all her ammunition, and had eight men wounded some of them in a dangerous manner. The Juno frigate had seven wounded.

The descent was effected under the command of general Casa-Bianca, with fifteen hundred troops of the line, and three thousand national volunteers; another descent was to be made at some distance, and a certain signal was observed in the island, and the troops heard the following words pronounced through a speaking trumpet: *Citizens, come on shore; we have put to flight our enemy.*—The troops, however, suspected the delusion, especially as they could observe with their glasses that the invitation came from persons in the Sardinian uniform. The second descent therefore was countermanded. Casa-Bianca, however, formed a camp at the distance of half a league from the town, with fifteen pieces of cannon and some mortars, but the troops were seized with an instantaneous panic, they mistook the word of command, and the patrols fired upon each other; the soldiers imagined themselves

too

too weak in number, and requested to be re-embarked, and some of them without orders began to retire towards the shore. In this disagreeable situation the general was compelled to re-embark his troops, and it was with great difficulty that he was able even to save his cannon. When the troops returned on board Truguet immediately set sail. The *Leopard*, a ship of the line, ran on shore, but the crew were saved. A tartan, which ran on shore also, was burnt by the Sardinians.

This failure of the attack upon Sardinia was a trivial misfortune in comparison with the hasty retreat and final defection of general Dumourier in the Netherlands. The reduced and impoverished state of the French armies : arose partly from the return of the volunteers and national guards, but chiefly from the gross neglect of the French ministers. As they were however still numerous, general Miranda continued to press the siege of Maastricht with a considerable force ; while general La Noue, with the covering army, was encamped at Herve. The head quarters of general Valence were at Liege, while his outposts extended to Aix-la-Chapelle and the banks of the Roer. On the 1st of March general Clairfait, having passed the Roer in the night, attacked the French posts as well on the side of Durn as on that of Juliers, and compelled them to retreat as far as Alderhaven, with the loss of 2,000 men, twelve pieces of cannon, thirteen ammunition waggons and the military chest. The following day the arch-duke attacked several French batteries, and took nine pieces of cannon.

On the 3d, the prince of Saxe Cobourg obtained a signal victory over the French, and drove them from Aix-la-Chapelle even to the vicinity of Liege, with the loss of 4,000 killed, 1,600 prisoners, and 20 pieces of cannon. The French force seems indeed at this period to have been too much divided to make an effectual resistance ; and their officers appear to have had very bad intelligence of the motions of the enemy.

The defeat of the 3d was the signal for raising the siege of Maastricht. On the 4th, general Miranda learned, that the enemy was advancing with more than 35,000
men

men towards Wick, with the evident intention of throwing succours into Maestricht. The general, therefore, had scarcely time to withdraw the body of 3,000 men, which were posted there under the command of general Leveneur, before they were attacked by the advanced guard of the enemy. The bombardment was however continued in the usual manner, and Maestricht suffered considerably from the conflagration.

At twelve o'clock at night, Miranda gave orders for a general retreat, having sent before him all the artillery, which happily arrived at Tongres, being covered with a rear-guard of 4,000 men, whom the enemy was unable to discompose.

On the succeeding day the French were again attacked at Tongres, and forced to retreat to Hans and St. Tron, where Miranda and Valence formed a junction; the former having evacuated Liege, and abandoned it to the enemy. They were also joined by the troops under generals Isler, Lamorliere, and Champmorin; and after remaining there till the 8th, to refresh, and having repulsed the advanced guard of the enemy, who attempted to dislodge them, they moved on that day towards Tirlemont.

In this critical situation of affairs general Dumourier ought to have abandoned his enterprise against Holland, and moved with his whole force to the support of the flying generals. On the contrary, he left his army under the command of general De Flers, "whom, he says, he knew to be incapable of discharging the trust," with orders to take up his quarters at Dort. The army in Holland was totally dispirited by the departure of the general; the Dutch navy, in the mean time, was reinforced, and the Prussians advanced by the way of Bois-le-Duc. Instead of proceeding to Dort, De Flers was compelled to throw himself into Breda, with six battalions and 200 cavalry, and the rest of the army retired to Antwerp.

The satisfaction expressed by the army in Liege on being re-joined by their former victorious commander is scarcely to be described; order and confidence seemed to be at once established; and the hopes of the soldiery anticipated a renewal of the glories of Jemappe. The

strength

strength and vigour, however, of the French army were gone, and their commander was no longer the same Dumourier who had triumphantly overrun the Netherlands in the preceding year.

On the 15th of March the Austrians attacked Tirlemont, in which the French had only 400 men, and which they carried after an obstinate resistance, the town being large and incapable of defence. On the following day, however, they were again driven from that place by general Dumourier, and compelled to retreat to St. Tron. On the 18th a general engagement took place at Neerwinden; the French army being covered by Dornael, and on the right by Landen. The action continued with great obstinacy on both sides, from seven in the morning till five in the evening, when the French were obliged to fall back, and the Austrian cavalry coming up, put them entirely to flight. The loss in each army was great. The French displayed considerable courage and address, but were overpowered by numbers, and perhaps by the treachery of their own commanders, and by the superior skill and discipline of their enemies. Dumourier himself, in a letter to general Duval, says of this battle, that he attacked the enemy in the famous plain of Neerwinden, and fought the whole day with his right wing and centre. The left wing (which was commanded by general Miranda) he asserts, not only fought ill, but abandoned him and fled beyond Tirlemont. In his memoirs the general asserts, that general La Marche committed the first error of the day. He entered the plain of Landen, according to his instructions; but finding no enemy there, he made a movement to the left, to fall upon the village of Oberwinde, and thence was thrown into confusion by the second column. General Valence, who commanded the French cavalry, was wounded and obliged to retire to Tirlemont, but they were still victorious over the Austrian horse. He repeats the charge against general Miranda of having retreated while his troops were quite fresh, and attributes this defection to a jealousy of general Valence.

Miranda, however, in a confidential letter to Petion,
VOL. V. N n dated

dated the 21st of March, very directly intimates his suspicion of treachery in the commander in chief. He says that Dumourier, who had before never failed to consult him upon every occasion, did not even mention the arrangements for the battle of Neerwinden to him. "At eleven at night," says he, "my orders were delivered in writing, and I learnt in a conversation with him, that we were to offer battle to an enemy 51,000 strong, very advantageously posted, and a formidable artillery, with a force inferior to theirs, and with every disadvantage of situation and encampment—all this was to be effected without having previously reconnoitred the ground, or the particular position of the enemy." Miranda proceeds to assert, that he made a vigorous attack in five different columns, three of which were led on by himself; and that at last his troops, after fighting a considerable time with various success, were obliged to give way to superior force: and that they did not abandon the field in a cowardly manner, the loss which this division suffered may be cited as a proof, since it amounted to not less than 2,000 in killed and wounded. The whole of the loss Dumourier states at more than 3,000; and that of the Imperialists at 1,400. The French also lost a great part of their cannon.

The battle of Neerwinden was fatal to the French; for, besides the loss above stated, the general observes that upwards of 6000 men immediately deserted, and proceeded towards Brussels and France. The retreat of the French was, however, made in good order, and they continued skirmishing till they reached Godsenhoven, which is about one league south of Tirlemont. Here the French formed in order of battle, and the two armies rested the whole night upon their arms. On the 19th, but little was done, and on the night of the 20th Dumourier took possession of the heights of Cumtich, behind Tirlemont, from which place he had time to withdraw his magazines.

As the general, however, if we may trust his own account, clearly perceived that he could not long maintain himself in this position, and that it afforded no protection either to Louvain or Brussels, he availed himself of the 20th, while the Austrians still remained before Tirlemont,

mont, to pass the Welpe and encamp near Bantersem, having his right at Op and Neerwelpe, and his left on the heights, and in the woods in front of Zuellenberg. Here he was attacked by the advanced guard of the enemy, who were however repulsed. While the general was engaged in repelling this assault, Danton and La Croix arrived in the camp as commissioners from the convention; and after receiving some explanation from him relative to a letter which he had written to the convention on the affairs of Belgium, they returned.

On the 21st Dumourier judged it proper to take post nearer Louvain, and on the following day he was attacked by the enemy. The action was bloody, and lasted the whole day; but the Imperialists were compelled to retreat with great loss. On the evening preceding this action, general Dumourier sent colonel Montjoye to the head quarters of the prince of Cobourg, to treat respecting the wounded and the prisoners. "He there (continues Dumourier) saw colonel Mack, an officer of uncommon merit, who observed to colonel Montjoye, that it might be equally advantageous to both parties to agree to a suspension of arms. Dumourier, who had deeply considered the situation of his army, sent Montjoye again to colonel Mack on the 22d, to demand if he would come to Louvain, and make the same proposition to Dumourier. Colonel Mack came in the evening. The following articles were verbally agreed to: first, that the Imperialists should not again attack the French army in great force, nor general Dumourier again offer battle to the Imperialists. Secondly, that on the faith of this tacit armistice, the French should retire to Brussels slowly, and in good order, without any opposition from the enemy. And lastly, that Dumourier and colonel Mack should have another interview after the evacuation of Brussels, in order to settle further articles that might then be mutually deemed necessary."

Either distrustful of Dumourier, however, or from other motives, the Imperialists, under general Clairfait, attacked an advanced guard of the French, posted at Pellenberk; in consequence of which the latter was obliged to abandon Louvain, and general Dumourier transported his

wounded, and the flour for his army, in boats to Mechlin. The French army effected their retreat towards Brussels in the night; otherwise, Dumourier himself states, to the honour of his new allies, "that notwithstanding the verbal stipulations agreed to by colonel Mack, they would probably have seized upon this opportunity to destroy, or entirely disperse, the French army."

Dumourier, it appears, continued faithfully to observe, on his part, the terms of the agreement; and he also allows that the prince of Cobourg so far adhered to them, that he remained three days at Louvain, sending only small detachments to hang on the rear-guard of the French. On the 25th general Dumourier, with his army, passed through Brussels. The citadel of Antwerp was the only fortified place that he was able to keep, which he garrisoned with 2,000 men, and six months provisions, in order to preserve a communication with the troops which had been left in Breda and Gertruydenberg. His design, he says, was to have formed a strong line without the territory of France, to the left by Namur, Mons, Tournay, Courtray, Antwerp, Breda, and Gertruydenberg, till he could recruit his forces; but the line in one part was broken by the necessary evacuation of Namur.

On the 27th the general arrived at Ath, where he received orders from the convention to arrest the colonel of the 73d regiment of infantry, and general Miranda. On the same day colonel Mack arrived at Ath. A further agreement was then entered into between that officer and Dumourier, the terms of which were—"that the French army should remain some time longer in the possession of Mons, Tournay, and Courtray, without being harassed by the Imperial army; that general Dumourier, who *did not conceal from colonel Mack his design of marching against Paris*, should, when their designs were ripe for execution, regulate the motions of the Imperialists, who should only act as auxiliaries in the execution of their plan; that in the case of Dumourier's having no need of assistance, which was to be greatly desired by both parties, the Imperialists should not advance farther than the frontier of France

France, and that the total evacuation of Belgium should be the price of this condescension; but if Dumourier could not effect the re-establishment of a limited monarchy, (not a counter-revolution) he himself should indicate the number and the kind of troops which the Imperialists should furnish, to aid in the project, and which should be entirely under Dumourier's direction.

"Dumourier made colonel Mack acquainted with his design of marching the following day to Tournay, with the march of general Neuilly to Mons, and of the army of Holland to Courtray.

"It was finally decided, that in order to combine the operations of the Imperial troops under the prince of Cobourg, and those under the prince of Hohenloe, at the time when Dumourier should march to Paris, Condé should be put into the hands of the Austrians as a pledge; that the Austrians should garrison the town, but without any pretensions to the sovereignty; and on the condition that it should be restored to France at the conclusion of the war, and after an indemnity should have been settled between the two parties; but that all the other towns belonging to France should, in the case of the constitutional party needing the assistance of the Imperialists, receive garrisons, one half of which should be French troops, and the other half Imperial, under the orders of the French. General Valence, general Thouvenot, the duke de Chartres, and colonel Montjoye, assisted at this conference."

General Dumourier arrived on the 28th at Tournay, and here he learned that general Neuilly's division had abandoned Mons, and thrown themselves into Condé and Valenciennes. Here he found madame Sillery and madame d'Orleans, whom he says he had never till then seen. The designs of Dumourier did not, however, pass unsuspected at Paris: three commissioners from the executive power had therefore been despatched under the pretence of conferring with the general concerning the affairs of Belgium, but really with a view of sounding his intentions. They found him at Tournay in company with madame Sillery, young Egalité, and Valence, and surrounded with deputations from the district of Cambray.

The interview was violent. Dumourier expressed himself in terms of invective against the jacobins. "They will ruin France," said he; "but I will save it, though they shall call me a Cæsar, a Cromwell, or a Monk." The commissioners carried the conversation no farther. They departed, and returned next day, determined to dissemble, in order the better to discover the extent of his views. The general then became more explicit; he said that the convention were a herd of ruffians, whom he held in abhorrence—that the volunteers were poltroons; but that all their efforts would be vain. "As for the rest," added he, "there still remains a party. If the queen and her children are threatened, I will march to Paris—it is my fixed intention—and the convention will not exist three weeks longer." The commissioners asked him, by what means he would replace the convention? His answer was, "The means are already formed." They asked him whether he did not wish to have the last constitution? He replied, that it was a foolish one; he expected a better from Condorcet: the first constitution, with all its imperfections, was preferable. When they asked him whether he wished to have a king, he replied—"We must have one." He also told them, that he was employed to make peace for France; that he had already entered into a negociation with the prince of Cobourg for an exchange of prisoners, and for the purpose of withdrawing from Holland those eighteen battalions, which were on the point of being cut off. When they informed him that those negociations with Cobourg, and the peace which he wished to procure for France, would not change republicans into royalists, he repeated the assertion that he would be in Paris in three weeks; and observed, that since the battle of Jemappe he had wept over his success in so bad a cause. Dubuiffon, one of the commissioners, then proposed to communicate to him a plan of a counter-revolution: but he said that his own was better; that he would make the conquest of Belgium for himself, which he would rule under the protection of the house of Austria.

The conversation of Dumourier with these commissioners

ers was no sooner made public in Paris, than the suspicions of those who entertained apprehensions of his treachery were converted into certainty. The general himself had been previously ordered to the bar of the convention; he was to be superseded by Bournonville, the minister of war; and four commissioners were sent to the army of the north, with powers to suspend and arrest all generals and military officers whom they should suspect, and bring them to the bar.

As the commissioners wished to proceed with caution, they halted at Lille; and despatched a summons to the general to appear in that city, and answer the charges against him. The general, however, had already arranged his plan; the Rubicon was passed; and he returned only for answer, that he could not leave the army for a moment, while the enemy was cutting him off from every retreat—that he would only enter Lille to purge it of those traitors who infested it—and that he valued his head too much to submit it to an arbitrary tribunal.

On the 29th of March, general Dumourier learned that Antwerp had been abandoned by the troops which he had stationed there; and that they had effected their retreat to the territories of France. On the following day, he resolved to raise the camp at Tournay, and occupy that of Maulde. In the mean time he sent orders through colonel Mack to the garrisons of Breda and Gertruydenberg to capitulate, on condition of being allowed to march back to France. He also ordered general Miaczinski, who was at Orchies, to march with his division to Lille, and arrest the commissioners of the convention; but that general imprudently divulging the object of his mission, no sooner entered the city than the gates were shut upon him; he was sent to Paris, and brought to the scaffold. By the patriotism of generals Ferrand and Ecuyer; Dumourier was also frustrated in an attempt to render himself master of Condé and Valenciennes.

The attempt to arrest an able general at the head of his army was bold at least, and indeed did not argue a superior degree of wisdom in the agents of the convention. The commissioners, nevertheless, proceeded on the
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the 1st of April to St. Amand, the head quarters of Dumourier, and, being admitted to his presence, explained to him the object of their mission. After a conference of some hours, the general, not finding that he could persuade them to favour his intentions, gave the signal for a body of soldiers who were in waiting, and ordered the minister of war, Bournonville (who was sent to supercede him), and the commissioners, Camus, Blancal, La Marque, and Quinette, immediately to be conveyed to general Clairfait's head quarters at Tournay, as hostages for the safety of the royal family.

Dumourier, notwithstanding his splendid talents, appears, however, to have been grossly mistaken with regard to the disposition of his army. They might be disposed to resent the affront which was so imprudently offered to their general, in ordering him to appear as a criminal at Paris; but when he came to propose to them the restoration of royalty in the person of the prince, and to turn their arms against their country, the prejudices or the patriotism of Frenchmen assumed their wonted influence, and they considered it as their duty to disobey. The general lost no time in despatching colonel Montjoye to acquaint colonel Mack with the arrest of the commissioners, and to appoint the time and place for a conference to conclude the terms of their treaty. During the night he composed a manifesto addressed to his army, which he digested and put in order the following day.

On the morning of the 3d he went to the camp, and addressed the troops, who, he says, appeared to approve his conduct. He then proceeded to St. Amand, in which place was the corps of artillery, who also expressed their satisfaction. At St. Amand general Dumourier thought it prudent to sleep, for the purpose of marking his confidence in the troops there.—The whole of the 3d, he says, passed with as much success as he could expect; except that murmurs were heard among some of the battalions of the volunteers.

On the morning of the 4th he left general Thouvenot at St. Amand, and departed himself for Condé; but he had not approached that fortress within half a league, be-

fore he was met by an officer dispatched by general Neuilly to inform him that the garrison was in the greatest fermentation, and that it would not be safe for him to enter the place. He sent back the officer with an order to general Neuilly, to send the 18th regiment of cavalry to escort him. He had just before overtaken a column of volunteers marching towards Condé, who, however, did not then attempt to molest him. While they were yet in sight it was that general Neuilly's messenger arrived; and he had scarcely delivered his message to the officer, when the head of the column quitted the high road and ran towards him with shouts and menaces, and a universal exclamation of "Stop, stop." The general now perceiving himself in the most imminent danger, mounted a horse belonging to a domestic of the duke de Chartres, and escaped through a dreadful discharge of musketry, which the whole column poured upon him and his associates.

Finding it impossible to gain the camp of Maulde, the general proceeded along the Scheldt, and passed the ferry near the village of Wickers, on the imperial territory. From this place he continued his route on foot to Bury, where in the evening he met colonel Mack, and passed the night in digesting the proclamation of the prince of Cobourg, which appeared on the 5th, with that of general Dumourier. It was also agreed in this conference, that as soon as the general should be master of Condé, he should deliver it to the Austrians, to serve as a magazine and place of arms, in case of aid being demanded by general Dumourier.

The proclamation of General Dumourier contained a recapitulation of his services to the French republic; a statement of the cruel neglect which his army had experienced in the preceeding winter, and of the outrages practised by the jacobins towards the generals of the republic, and particularly towards himself; the reasons which induced him to arrest the commissioners; and a glowing picture of the evils to be apprehended from a continuance of anarchy in France. It concluded with an exhortation to the French, to restore the constitution
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of 1789, 1790, and 1791; and a declaration on oath that he bore arms only for the restoration of that constitution; and that as soon as he had effected that purpose, he would for ever abandon every public function, and in solitude console himself with having contributed to the happiness of his fellow citizens.

The manifesto of the prince of Saxe Cobourg, which accompanied the preceding, reflected great honour on that general; and it can never be sufficiently regretted, that the terms which it held forth were ever departed from by the allied powers. It passed high encomiums on the disinterested and patriotic views of general Dumourier. It announced that the allied powers were no longer to be considered as principals, but merely as auxiliaries in the war; that they had no other object but to co-operate with general Dumourier in giving to France her constitutional king, and *the constitution she formed for herself*. On his word of honour he pledged himself, that he would not come upon the French territory to make conquests, but solely for the ends above specified.

The prince declared further, that any strong places which should be put into his hands should be considered as sacred deposits, to be delivered up as soon as the constitutional government should be established in France, or as soon as general Dumourier should demand them.

On the 5th of April, at day-break, general Dumourier proceeded with an escort of 50 Imperial dragoons to the advanced guard of his camp at Maulde. He harangued the troops; but though there was no open opposition, he observed some indications of that spirit, and several factious groups assembled in different parts. His next design was to go to St. Amand; but as he was entering the city he was met by an aid-de-camp, who informed him that during the night the corps of artillery, excited by some emissaries from Valenciennes, had risen upon their general, and were marching to that fortress. The money, however, and the equipages of the officers, which remained in the city without a guard, he commanded to be conducted to Rumegies.

The desertion of the corps of artillery was the signal
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for general revolt. General Lamorliere, on whom Dumourier had placed some dependance, immediately took his departure for Valenciennes. The general was himself at Rumegies when he heard of the defection of the troops in camp. Nothing was now left but to provide for his personal safety. He mounted his horse, attended by general and colonel Thouvenot, the duke de Chartres, colonel Montjoye, and a few others of his staff. He was followed in the course of the day by about 700 horse, and 800 infantry; these were the whole that could be prevailed on by the utmost solicitations of their officers to desert to the enemy, and of these several afterwards returned.

The military chest which Dumourier had removed was recovered by a party of French chasseurs, and brought to Valenciennes. At Bury general Dumourier found colonel Mack, and proceeded with him to Mons. It was agreed that the Imperialists should immediately lay siege to Condé. The rank of feld-zeugmeister (general of artillery) was conferred on Dumourier; but the suspicions of the allies have never permitted him to enjoy it in any active capacity.

The little success attending this transaction should have taught the combined powers the impossibility of conquering France; and the little dependence to be placed on the vain hopes with which they had deluded themselves, respecting the co-operation of the French people in effecting a counter revolution.—They had seen a whole army who had been manifestly attached to their general, under whom they had conquered and bled, refuse to obey that general when he proposed to them to take arms against their country, though under the specious pretext of restoring a constitution to which it was probable many of them were attached. That general too was a man of transcendent abilities. He certainly had not been well treated by the ministers and the convention; and his case had in the commencement undoubtedly interested the soldiery in his behalf. He was supported in these measures by officers whom they could not but love and respect; and yet the attachment to what they deemed the cause of liberty

liberty and their country rose superior to every other passion in the breasts of these men. Could any person of common sense expect success after such an instance as this? But we have seldom known what was begun in folly terminate in wisdom; we have seldom seen those who indulge at first in intemperate and imprudent counsels, instructed by subsequent events.

A congress of the representatives of the combined powers was assembled at Antwerp on the 8th of April.—At this congress were present the prince of Orange and his two sons, and his excellency Vander Spiegel; the duke of York and lord Auckland on the part of Great Britain; the prince of Saxe Cobourg, counts Metternich, Stahrenberg and Mercy Dargenteau, with the Prussian, Spanish and Neapolitan envoys. On their decision the fate of nations and the peace of Europe depended; and posterity will have the more to regret, if it should appear that the voice of reason was less powerful in this council, than the dictates of ambition and revenge.

The particulars of what passed on this important occasion have never yet transpired—We only know that it was resolved to commence a plan of active operations against France. The prince of Cobourg was compelled to unsay all that he had set forth with so much solemnity in his proclamation of the 5th; and a scheme of conquest was formally announced in a new proclamation, which was issued by the same general on the 9th of the same month.

It was obvious that so impolitic a step could have no other tendency than to destroy all confidence in the professions of the allied powers. It was calculated (however pure the intentions of the prince might have been) to awake suspicion and resentment in the breasts of the French; and to induce them to suspect that the whole of the proclamation of the 5th was a mere delusion, only intended to impose on their credulity.

The situation of France at this moment was singularly critical and dangerous. By the defection of Dumourier the whole army of the north was dissolved, and in part disbanded; while that of the allies lay upon the frontier, numerous, well disciplined, and victorious. On the side
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of the Rhine the Prussians advanced in immense force, and threatened the siege of Mentz, even before the works for its defence were completed.

But however formidable the attack from without might appear, it was perhaps less to be dreaded than those alarming internal commotions which took place about this period. To effect completely the subversion of the republican government in France, it was a part of the great plan to excite by a bold and instantaneous effort the royalist party, who lay concealed in different parts of the country, but chiefly in the ancient provinces of Brittany and Poitou, now distinguished by the names of the departments of La Vendée and La Loire. Notwithstanding the severe decrees of the convention, immense numbers of the emigrants had secretly resorted thither in the winter of 1792, and the vicinity of these departments to the sea afforded a fair prospect of fresh supplies of men and military stores, as well as of the co-operation of the naval powers.

It appeared like a concerted plan, that this insurrection should break out almost at the instant of Dumourier's defection; as if by two such tremendous explosions the new republic was at once to be overwhelmed in ruin. The first disturbances were considered by the convention as merely the result of a repugnance in the people to the modes which had been adopted for recruiting the army; but before the latter end of March the insurgents assumed a more formidable appearance as to numbers, and their proceedings evinced the rebellion to be the result of previous arrangement. They were distinguished by white caps, and by other counter-revolutionary ensigns, and their watch-words were *Vive le Roi* and *Vivent les Anglois!* They professed to act by the authority of Monsieur, the regent of France, and in several rencounters with the national guards were victorious, particularly in an action which took place near Chantanay, which was immediately succeeded by the plunder of that city.

On the 23d of March the convention were informed that the insurgents had made themselves masters of the districts of Cholet, Montaigne and Clisson, and that they

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had defeated general Marce, who had been sent to quell them. The city of Nantz was at the same time in a state of siege, and the number of rebels encamped before that city were estimated at not less than 40,000. In the beginning of April general Berruyere was appointed to command against the rebels. Notwithstanding the efforts of the convention, however, before the end of that month they possessed themselves of an extent of 50 leagues of country, and had defeated the republicans in two pitched battles, in which they took an immense quantity of artillery and military stores, and a number of prisoners.

To resist with success the force of these combined misfortunes required no common resources, and no trifling share of spirit and of energy. The convention, on receiving the intelligence of the defection of Dumourier, and the arrest of the commissioners, decreed a permanent sitting; they offered a large reward for the fugitive general, and decreed that all who appeared connected with him should be put under arrest.

The commissioners in the mean time, who had been sent to the army, omitted no means of restoring order, and invigorating the spirit of the French army. The standard of the republic was no sooner set up, than the battalions which had dispersed from the camp of Maulde resorted to it; and general Dampierre, who had evinced his patriotism by his resistance to the orders of Dumourier, was provisionally appointed by the commissioners to the chief command. In less than a week general Dampierre had restored order and discipline to their disorganized troops, and was enabled to lead them to action if not to victory.

On the 13th of April the advanced posts of the French army under that general were attacked in six different points, but the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss. General Dampierre at the same time was enabled to resume the camp of Famars. On the 14th and 15th the advanced guard was again assailed by the enemy: on the former of those days, they were compelled by superior numbers to give way, but on the succeeding day they
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were victorious. The firing continued from four in the morning till eight in the evening, with as much violence as at the battle of Neerwinden.

On the 23d the Austrians again attacked the French near Maubeuge, but after a conflict of ten hours were repulsed with considerable loss; and on the 1st of May general Dampierre attempted to dislodge the enemy from several villages of which they were in possession, but in his turn experienced a repulse. On this occasion the Austrians had 600 killed and 2000 wounded, and the French had 300 killed and 600 wounded.

An action of a more serious nature took place on the 8th of May. General Dampierre on that day advanced to dislodge the enemy who were posted in the wood of Rheme and Vicoigne: but the ardour of the general having prompted him to too great an exposure of his person, his thigh was carried off by a cannon-ball, and he expired the following day, leaving the command in the hands of general Lamarche. In this action the Austrians lost in killed and wounded 500 men, and the Prussians 300; of the English troops, who were engaged and who had suffered greatly, no official return was made. The loss of the French was estimated at 4000.

From this period to the 23d little of importance occurred. On that day it was determined by the allies to attempt to dislodge the French from their fortified camp on the heights of Famars, which covered and protected the town of Valenciennes. At day-break the British and Hanoverians assembled under the command of the duke of York, and the Austrians and German auxiliaries under that of the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait. A thick fog prevented for some time the advance of the troops; and they soon experienced a tremendous fire from the entrenchments of the French. The contest, sir James Murray states, was of the severest kind, and in the field the French were defeated. The duke of York then advanced within a small distance of the works; but observing from the disposition of the French that they could not be carried without considerable loss, he determined to defer the attack till day-break on the following day. In

the course of the night, however, the French, apprehensive of the consequences, and probably much weakened by the action, abandoned their camp, and withdrew partly into Valenciennes, while another party retired by Denain, towards Bouchain and Cambray. No official return was made of the loss of the allies; but on both sides it must have been considerable.

The success on the 23d enabled the allies to lay formal siege to Valenciennes. Condé had been invested from the beginning of April, and the communication entirely cut off between that place and Valenciennes. To re-establish that communication was the object of general Dampierre on the 8th of May, when he received the fatal wound that deprived him of life.

While these affairs were transacting in the north, but little of importance occurred in other parts. In the beginning of May general Custine, who commanded the army of the Rhine, formed a design of cutting off from the enemy a body of seven or eight thousand men who had advanced as far as Rheinzabern; but, to succeed, it was necessary to amuse the Prussians in all parts, and to destroy the effect of the cavalry and infantry which they had near Landau. Had he been to retain the command of this army, he said he should have deferred that enterprise till the commencement of June, and then the army, better exercised, would have been in a condition to execute it completely; but reflecting that he was about to depart and take upon him the command of the army of the north, he determined to attempt an action, to prevent the Prussians from taking advantage of their good position. He therefore sent orders to general Houchard to attack in the rear Limberg and Carlberg with the army of the Moselle, while Pulli should keep in check, and attack with the rest of corps des Vasaes, a Prussian corps who had advanced, and while general Sulek, with nine battalions and some cavalry, should advance towards Anweiler to molest the enemy. The same day the garrison of Landau had orders to occupy the banks of the canal of Anweiler, the vineyards and village of Nusderff, with several other posts, and to give the Prussians reason to apprehend

prehend that they would be attacked in the rear, in case they should attempt any movements. He also caused a report to be spread in the Prussian army, that the cavalry of the army of the Moselle had arrived, as well as part of the artillery of Strasbourg. In the mean time general Ferrier, who commanded forty battalions, was ordered only to shew himself to the enemy till he should hear that the engagement had commenced and to attack them in the wood of Rheinzabern, and the Austrians who were in it beyond the village. Notwithstanding these orders, Custine observes, that he did not see his troops appear till eleven o'clock, at which time general Dretmann had commanded a retreat, because the troops were fatigued, and could neither procure provisions nor drink. The general himself began to march at eight o'clock in the evening, with twenty-six battalions and eight regiments, to the heights near Insheim; but several unavoidable delays prevented him from arriving at that place till five in the morning. The advanced guard, under the command of general Landremont, kept back the enemy, and prevented them from quitting the forest of Germerheim. While general Landremont was thus engaging the Austrian army, and preventing them from advancing, the main army extended itself to the heights of Rulshiem, and proceeded as far as that village. Custine charged two divisions of dragoons with vigour, who fled after sustaining considerable loss. Among the number of the dead were three officers. The general observed, that had it not been for the infatuation of a battalion, who mistook the French cavalry for that of the enemy, this day would have been glorious for the troops of the republic; they answered all attempts to rally them, only by discharges, and it was with great difficulty they could be prevailed upon to resume their ranks. The general was informed that this event was occasioned by the commander, who began the cry of treachery. He was arrested, and, it was said, destroyed himself. "This day, which ought to have been so memorable," added Custine, "terminated by the taking of one piece of cannon, and a very

great number of prisoners." The Prussians were soon after enabled to form the siege of Mentz.

At this fatal period, a degree of treachery seems to have pervaded every part of the French territory. On the 2d of April the popular society of Toulon denounced the corsican general Paoli as a traitor, and his subsequent conduct has proved that the accusation was too well founded. Paoli was cited to appear at the bar of the convention, but excused himself; and the persons who were sent to arrest him declared that the service was too dangerous to be attempted.

At the same time charges of a serious nature were exhibited against the ex-minister Bournonville, who was accused as an accomplice of Dumourier.

The pause which took place in the military transactions about this time affords an opportunity to review the no less important proceedings of the convention. In short, the year 1793, was the most pregnant in great and surprising events of any in the annals of France, or perhaps of any other country. The monarch was executed, a favourite and triumphant general turned traitor to the new republic; by vigilance and exertion the armies were re-organized and recruited, while the combined enemies of France were exhausting their power and their treasure against a few fortified towns upon the frontier. While the armies of the republic were adding conquest to conquest, the most alarming dissensions were raging among the legislative body, and the inhabitants of the capital. The queen was tried and executed, and about thirty members of the national convention with the duke of Orleans, met the same melancholy fate. The importance of these transactions will sufficiently apologize for the length of their detail.

In the month of March, the celebrated revolutionary tribunal, for judging offences against the state, was organized. In the next month it was decreed, that all the members of the Bourbon family, should be detained as hostages for the safety of the arrested deputies, and that they should be removed to Marseilles for that purpose, except such as were previously confined in the temple.

On the 15th of April, a petition was presented by the commons

commons of the 48 sections of Paris, demanding that twenty three members of the party termed the Gironde or Brissotine party, should be impeached and expelled the convention, Marat and Robespierre were the principal accusers on this occasion. The accused deputies recriminated, and Guadet presented a direct accusation against Marat. This favourite of the mob of Paris, was soon afterwards tried and acquitted. This triumph of the jacobine party, for so that of Marat and Robespierre was called, soon brought on the downfall of the Brissotines, which took place on the 31st of May, with great insurrections in Paris, and tumult in the convention, and the transaction was afterwards dignified by the appellation of the revolution of the 31st of May 1793.

After these commotions had subsided, the first step of the triumphant party was, to complete their constitution, which, however, was never carried into effect. This great work was effected in the short space of a fortnight, and in that time it was discussed article by article, and passed as the constitutional act.

During the remainder of the campaign the allied powers were employed in the blockade of Condé, Valenciennes, and Mentz. The victory of Famars enabled them to invest closely the town of Valenciennes.

On a summons being sent to general Ferrand, the governor, he returned a polite but spirited answer; and from the first commencement of the works, the besiegers experienced a heavy fire from the garrison. On the 1st of June general Custine arrived to take the command of the armies of the North and the Ardennes, then encamped at Bouchain; but he found himself unable to render any effectual relief to Valenciennes. Above 14,000 men of the besieging army were employed, for the greater part of the siege, in erecting works and repairing the batteries. During the beginning of June a very brisk fire was kept up from the fortress; and on the 5th the French attacked the advanced posts, but were repulsed.

In the course of the siege a difference of opinion existed between the English engineer, colonel Moncrief, and M. Ferraris, the chief engineer of the emperor. The British officer

officer was for planting batteries immediately under the walls of the city, instead of approaching it by regular parallels. M. Ferraris however contended, that the work of the great Vauban was not to be treated with so little respect, and his opinion was adopted by the council of war. On the morning of the 14th of June the trenches were opened. The British commander then summoned the garrison; but receiving an unsatisfactory answer, the artillery began to play upon the town with great vigour, and in the course of the night above 500 red hot balls were poured in upon it. Towards the beginning of July the besiegers were able to bring 200 pieces of heavy artillery to play without intermission on the town, and the greater part of it was reduced to ashes. The smallness of the garrison, compared with the extent of the fortifications to be defended, prevented general Ferrand, the commander, from attempting frequent sorties. In one which the garrison made on the 5th of July, however, they were very successful, and killed several of the enemy, and spiked some cannon.

The most singular fact in the history of this siege is, that a considerable part of the war was carried on under ground; mines and counter-mines innumerable having been formed both by the besiegers and besieged. The principal of these on the side of the former were one under the glacis, and one under the hornwork of the fortress: these mines were completed and charged on the 25th of July, and in the night between nine and ten o'clock were sprung, with the most complete success. The English and Austrians immediately embraced the opportunity to throw themselves into the covered way, of which they made themselves masters. The die was now cast, and on the 26th the duke of York again summoned the place, which surrendered on capitulation the succeeding day: the duke of York taking possession of it in behalf of the *emperor of Germany*.

During the whole of the siege general Custine was not able to make any attempt of moment for the relief of the place, and a few skirmishes only took place between the out-posts.

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In the duchy of Luxemburgh, an action of a more serious nature occurred on the 9th of June. The French, under general Laage, attacked the Austrians under general Schroeder, near Arlons, and obliged the latter to retreat with great loss to Luxemburgh. The eminence on which the Austrians were encamped was defended by thirty pieces of cannon, arranged on batteries in the form of steps and defended by 8000 men. These the French successively attacked and carried with incredible intrepidity.

The king of Prussia had been from the beginning of April engaged in preparations for the siege of Mentz, and indeed from that time the place might be considered as in a state of blockade, and the numerous garrison subsisted chiefly on horseflesh. The king was however too much engaged with his new acquisitions in Poland to form any serious attack till the beginning of May. On the 4th of that month his majesty arrived just at the commencement of an attack on the village of Costheim, from which however they were not able to dislodge the French. From this period to the beginning of June frequent and bloody skirmishes took place between the garrison and the besieging army, without any thing decisive. On the 4th of June the French made a most desperate sortie upon the village of Marienborn, which they carried, and spiked some pieces of cannon; and on the 9th they attempted a general sortie on all sides, but were every where repulsed.

The combined army opened the trenches before Mentz on the 19th and 20th of June. On the morning of the 24th the garrison made a sortie, and spiked four pieces of cannon. On the same day a large number of women and children were dismissed from the garrison; but they were fired upon, and the greater part of them destroyed by the Prussians: some of the women in despair threw themselves with their children into the Main. On the 25th another sortie was attempted by the garrison, but they were repulsed. On the 7th of July the strong works of the French at Costheim were carried by the allies, by which they lost 800 men, and seven pieces of cannon. This success was followed on the 15th by the blowing up of
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of the laboratory in Mentz, and the destruction of a magazine of hay and straw, by the fire of the besiegers. Cassel, which covered Mentz on the opposite side of the Rhine, was set on fire on the 17th, and several ammunition waggon^s were blown up. On the 18th the French army of the Rhine made a grand effort for the relief of Mentz. They attempted to force their way through, not far from Landau, and made their attack in three places at once. They were however repulsed in every part by general Wurms^{er}. This last effort therefore proving unsuccessful, the garrison capitulated on the 22d, the principal condition of which was, that they should not serve for the space of one year against the allies.

On the 8th of August the French were driven from the strong position which they had taken behind the Scheldt, and which was known by the name of Cæsar's camp; as the French did not make much resistance on this occasion, the loss on both sides was not considerable.

With these achievements the successes of the allies may be said to have terminated. The protracted sieges of these fortresses had given time to the French to recover from the consternation into which they had been thrown by the defection of Dumourier; and that energy which every thinking man foresaw would finally defeat the absurd projects of the allies, began once more to come effectually into action. After the reduction of Valenciennes, a grand council of war was held, in which a project of the British Ministry for the separation of the army, and for an attack on French Flanders, was submitted to the allies. The project, it is said, was greatly disapproved by the experienced Austrian commanders; and two other plans were submitted to the council by these officers.

The first was to penetrate to Paris by the assistance of the rivers which fall into the Seine, on which the heavy stores and artillery might be transported. The other, which was that of the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait, was to take immediate advantage of the alarm which the surrender of Valenciennes had occasioned, and the disorder of the French armies from the denunciation of the generals, and with 40 or 50,000 light troops penetrate

trate to Paris, while a debarkation might be made on the side of Brittany, to assist the royalists in that quarter.

It is evident that none of these plans were consistent with true policy. Whatever number of troops had been detached to Paris would certainly have been surrounded and cut off; and as to assisting the royalists in Brittany, there is reason to believe, that the aid of foreign troops would not have added to the popularity of their cause; besides that such a circumstance must have rendered their army stationary, and consequently exposed to the danger of a complete defeat; whereas, it was by occasionally dispersing and assembling during the night at a moment's notice, and by taking advantage of the woods and covers, that they were enabled, for a length of time, to harass the republicans.

That the project of attacking West Flanders was ill conceived, the event sufficiently proved. Indeed a *wise* statesman would have rejected all these plans, and would have embraced the opportunity which the distresses of the French now afforded, to establish an advantageous peace.

In consequence of the preponderating influence of the English ministry in the grand council of war, on the 12th of August the British, Hanoverians, and the Dutch, with some Hessians and Austrians, separated from the main army, and commenced their march for Dunkirk.

It has been asserted, that in this expedition the duke of York did not entirely rely on the intrepidity of his troops, but that "he had also an expectation of being admitted into the town by a golden key. He had kept up a secret correspondence with the former governor, general Omeron (who has since been executed for treachery,) nor did he till his arrival know, that the plan had been discovered, and that general Omeron was removed from his post*"

On the 16th of August the duke of York encamped at Turcoin, where a council of war was held on the succeeding day. On the 18th the British marched to a camp, which had been marked out near Menin, and found the Dutch, under the hereditary prince of Orange, engaged in an attack on the French out-posts, in which his highness

* Plowden's History of the Last Twenty Months, p. 330.

was repulsed. The British troops almost immediately engaged in the action, and with great difficulty and loss carried the post of Lincelles; the works of which were destroyed, and the post left unoccupied. On the 22d the duke of York marched from Furnes to attack the French camp at Ghivelde, which was abandoned on his approach, and he was almost immediately enabled to take the ground which it was his intention to occupy during the siege. On the 24th he attacked the out-posts of the French, who with some loss were driven into the town. In this action the famous Austrian general Dalton and some other officers of note were killed. The succeeding day the siege might be said regularly to commence. A considerable naval armament from Great Britain was to have co-operated in the siege, but by some extraordinary neglect admiral Macbride was not able to sail so early as was expected. In the mean time the hostile army was extremely harassed by the gun-boats of the French; a successful sortie was effected by the garrison on the 6th of September; on the same day the covering army of general Freitag was surprised and totally routed; and that general and prince Adolphus Frederick both taken prisoners, though they were afterwards rescued. The consequence of these disasters was, that as the French were known to be collecting in superior force, the siege was raised on the 7th, after several severe actions, in which the allied forces suffered very considerably.

It is general well understood, that if general Houchard, who commanded the French army on this occasion, had done his duty, he might have effectually cut off the retreat of the duke of York, and probably have captured almost the whole of the allied army. For this gross neglect the French general was afterwards denounced, and suffered by the sentence of the revolutionary tribunal.

The army of the allies which remained under the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait, was not in the main more successful. On the 8th of August a detachment of this army attempted to form the siege of Cambray; but after remaining for some days before the town, the Austrian general was obliged to raise the siege. Bouchain

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was also invested, but was afterwards relieved. Quesnoy was the only point in which the allies at this period were victorious. That place surrendered on the 11th of September to general Clairfait; a considerable detachment, which had been sent for its relief, having been previously repulsed by the prince of Cobourg.

On the side of the Rhine a number of petty actions took place, in which the French were generally successful, but no event of importance ensued. On the 22d of August general Landremont assumed the command at Weissembourg, and continued skirmishing with the enemy till the conclusion of the month. On the 7th of September he attacked the army of the allies in several points, and drove them back with great loss; at the post of Lauterbourg only he asserts that the allies lost 1500 men. This success was followed on the 12th by a general attack, in which the French are said to have killed 2000 Austrians and emigrants, dismounted a battery, and spiked several pieces of cannon.

The French army of the north, after the raising of the siege of Dunkirk, took a strong position in the neighbourhood of Maubeuge, where they were immediately blockaded by the whole united force of the allies, collected under the prince of Cobourg. Upon the 15th and 16th of October, however, the prince was attacked by the troops of the republic under General Jourdain*, who succeeded Houchard, with such vigour and effect, that he was compelled, after an immense loss, to abandon his position, and repass the Sambre. Elated by this success, the French immediately made inroads into Maritime Flanders. They attacked the allied forces in several places at once; they took possession of Werwick, and obliged general Erbach to abandon Menin, and retreat to Courtray. On the 22d they advanced and took Furnes; they then proceeded to Nieuport, which they besieged and greatly damaged; but the place was saved by having

* General Jourdain, it is said, had formerly served in the army, in what capacity we know not, but latterly kept a petty shop of toys and haberdashery in an obscure village.

recourse to inundation. It was some time before the allied forces were able to stop the progress of the republicans, and their generals even trembled for the fate of Ostend. A considerable armament from England, however, being at that time preparing for the West Indies, under sir Charles Grey, their destination was altered; and by arriving at the fortunate moment at Ostend, they probably protracted the crisis when the Low Countries were to become once more subject to the dominion of France.

The forces of the republic were still more eminently successful in repelling the attempts of the rebels in the department of La Vendée. General Biron repulsed the army of the insurgents from Lucon on the 28th of June; and nearly about the same time the city of Nantz was relieved from their incursions by general Beysser. Châtillon was rescued from them on the 3d of July by general Westermann; but on the following day he was surprised by the rebels, and compelled to retreat to Parthenay. On Westermann's defeat he was summoned to Paris to answer for his conduct, but was honourably acquitted. The chief command after this circumstance (general Biron having also been ordered to Paris) devolved on general Beysser, who in several skirmishes put the rebels to flight. In the beginning of August they were again defeated by general Rossignol; on the 10th of that month however, while the citizens were celebrating the civic feast, general Charette, the commander in chief of the insurgents, vigorously assailed the city of Nantz, but was repulsed with loss.

In the mean time blood and devastation marked the progress of these soldiers of royalty. Their ceremonies and their military discipline were a strange compound of superstition and cruelty; and they are even accused of having mingled the sacramental wine with the blood of their adversaries, and administered it to the people; such an act of sacrilege, we trust, however, must have been a calumny. One of their standards, which was presented to the national convention, was white on one side and red on the other; on the red side was embroidered the figure of
a bishop

a bishop in his pontificals ; and on the white, the virgin Mary, with the infant Jesus in her arms. They gained a considerable advantage over the republicans at Parthenay, in the latter end of August.

On the 7th of September general Rossignol atchieved a signal victory over the insurgents at Pont-de-cé ; and in conjunction with Santerre routed them again at Douay, Thouars, and Evreux on the succeeding days. In the latter end of September the garrison of Mentz was ordered to march into La Vendée, and on the 6th of October the advanced guard vanquished an army of 25,000 rebels. It would be tedious to enter on a more minute detail of this obscure and petty war ; let it suffice to say, that the unfortunate insurgents made a most vigorous resistance to every effort of the convention till the middle of October 1793, when they were completely routed. After being-driven from La Vendée, they divided into three bodies. The first threw themselves into the island of Noirmoutier, where they remained some time in a state of blockade, but were at length subdued. The second seem to have dispersed ; and the third took the route of Anjou, Maine, and Brittany, where they carried on for a while a desultory warfare, but were at length gradually dispersed.

The disaffection of some of the other provinces, which immediately followed the revolution as it is called of the 31st of May, was productive of still more serious consequences to the new government.

The department of Calvados was the first in arms, and a formidable force was collected about the latter end of June in the neighbourhood of Caen, under the command of general Felix Wimpfen, the hero of Thionville, and under the supposed direction of the fugitive deputies Petion, Buzot, and Barbaroux. In the beginning of July this body of troops, which was called the Departmental army, had advanced as far as Evreux : but the people were evidently not hearty in the cause ; for on the approach of the republican army under general Sepper, after a slight skirmish with the advanced guard, they retired again into Calvados ; and before the end of the month completely dispersed, and the department returned to its

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allegiance. Petion, Buzot, Barbaroux, Salles, Valladi, Wimpfen, &c. fled; but the majority of them were soon after taken, and delivered up to the revolutionary tribunal. Biroteau was executed at Bourdeaux.

The formidable union which took place under the name of *federate republicanism*, between the cities of Marseilles, Lyons, and Toulon, still however continued, and seemed to threaten almost the dissolution of the existing authorities. A considerable force was despatched against them under general Cartaux in the latter end of July; and in the beginning of August the Marseillois were driven from the department of Vaucluse, which they had previously occupied. On the 24th the republicans attacked and took the town of Aix; and immediately upon this success the Marseillois opened their gates and submitted. But the people of Toulon and the French vice-admiral Trugoff entered into a negotiation with the English admiral, lord Hood, who was then cruising in the Mediterranean, and he took possession both of the town and of the shipping in the name of Louis XVII. and under the express and positive stipulation that he was to assist in restoring the constitution of 1789.

In the mean time general Kellermann, who commanded the army of the Alps, was despatched against Lyons. It contained an immense and mixed multitude of the discontented citizens of every class; some royalists, some of the first emigrants, and a considerable number of the Gironde party. The city remained in a state of blockade from the 8th of August; but the first attack was resisted with great bravery. On the 22d and 23d of August the Lyonese are computed to have lost not less than 2,000 men, and a great part of the city was reduced to a heap of ruins. In the month of September, as it appeared that Kellermann had not been sufficiently active, general Doppet, a young officer, who had just exchanged the profession of a physician for that of a soldier, was appointed to the command; and on the 8th of October the city of Lyons surrendered to that general. The chiefs of the rebels had fled, but several of them were afterwards taken and executed. By a subsequent decree of the convention,
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the walls and public buildings of Lyons were ordered to be destroyed, and the name of the city itself to be changed to that of *Ville Affranchie*.

In the beginning of August, the leaders of the convention asserted that a plot of the English ministry had been discovered, the object of which was to corrupt and bribe all the constituted authorities in France. A series of decrees was passed, chiefly pointing against that nation. One of these decrees declared every Frenchman a traitor, who should place money in the English funds; and another ordered, that all foreigners, and chiefly the English, should be put under arrest. A subsequent decree declared Pitt, the British minister, "the enemy of the human species." About the same period an outrage against the law of nations was committed by the Austrians, who arrested citizens Maret and Semonville on a neutral territory, while on their progress as ambassadors to Naples and Constantinople.

In a session of the convention on the 16th of August, the energetic and fertile genius of Barrere conceived the sublime project of exhorting the whole people of France to rise in a mass to expel the invaders from their territory. The plan was afterwards digested by the Committee of public safety. By this decree, not only the valour of the French nation, but industry and the arts were placed in a state of requisition; and to prevent the evils resulting from the undisciplined exertions of a mixed multitude, the new levies were organized with singular ability, and central points were established for their assembling.

On this decree it is only necessary to remark, that, had it not been seconded by the enthusiasm of the people, it must have been nugatory and perhaps prejudicial. Arbitrary governments will attempt to copy it in vain: it is the free spirit of the people only that can give effect to such daring projects, though the genius of the ruling power may certainly direct and regulate the energy on which ultimately success may depend.

Happy it had been for France and for mankind, if the

heroism of the nation had been tempered by humanity; but the French have in all instances appeared too prodigal of blood. That the people experienced great provocations from the treachery of their commanders, and the intrigues of contending factions, candour must admit; but the rigour of their punishments certainly exceeded in many cases the measure of the offence; and the haste and rashness of their adjudications leave at least a doubt, in others, of the justice of the sentence. Among the victims of popular resentment which fell about this period we cannot but lament the celebrated general Custine, whose former services (whatever might be his present demerits) should have secured him more lenient treatment. He was called to Paris from the command of the northern army in the beginning of July, and on the 18th arrived in that capital, from which he was never to return. On the 22d he was committed by a decree of the convention to the abbey prison; and in the beginning of August was brought before the revolutionary tribunal. The charges against him were—That he had maintained a secret correspondence with the enemy—That he had left the garrison of Mentz unprovided with necessaries; in consequence of which many brave defenders of their country perished, and the whole suffered the extreme of famine and misery, and were at last compelled to capitulate—That there existed a letter signed Custine, in which he engaged D'Oyle, commandant of Mentz to deliver up the place to the Prussians*.—That he had insulted the national representation by disobeying its orders, and by asserting publicly in a letter to the minister, “that such decrees as he did not approve only served him for papilottes (curl papers).”—That finally he had not exerted himself properly to prevent Valenciennes from falling into the hands of the enemy. How far these charges were substantiated by evidence we cannot affirm, as we believe no copy of the trial has reached England. The unfortunate general, in the crisis of his adversity, lamented

* This, on his examination, Custine affirmed to be an entire falsehood.

that he appeared forsaken by every friend; and the populace of Paris, accustomed to sights of horror, beheld the sacrifice of their former defender with calm indifference, or with blind exultation.

The trial and condemnation of the queen immediately followed that of general Custine. She had been removed on the night of the 1st of August from the Temple to a small and miserable apartment in the prison of the Conciergerie, where she remained till she was brought before the revolutionary tribunal on the 15th of October. The act of accusation consisted of several charges, the substance of which was—That she had contributed to the derangement of the national finances, by remitting from time to time considerable sums to her brother, the emperor Joseph—That since the revolution she had continued to hold a criminal correspondence with foreign powers—That in every instance she had directed her views to a counter-revolution, particularly in exciting the body guards and others of the military at Versailles on the 1st of October 1789—That in concert with Louis Capet she had distributed counter-revolutionary papers and writings; and even, to favour their purposes, some in which she was personally defamed—That in the beginning of October 1789, by the agency of certain monopolists, she had created an artificial famine—That she was a principal agent and promoter of the flight of the royal family in June 1791—That she instituted private councils in the palace, at which the massacres, as they were termed, in the Champ de Mars, at Nancy, &c. were planned—That in consequence of these councils she had persuaded her husband to interpose his veto against the decrees concerning the emigrants and refractory priests—That she influenced him to form a body guard composed of disaffected persons, and induced him to give employments to refractory priests.

One of the most singular charges was, that in conjunction with a scandalous faction (that of the Gironde we conceive) she induced the king and the assembly to declare war against Austria, contrary to every principle of sound policy and public welfare.

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The act proceeds to state, That she communicated to the enemy plans of the campaign and other intelligence—That the affair of the 10th of August was the consequence of a horrible conspiracy against the nation formed by her intrigues; and that, to promote her views, she kept the Swiss guards in a state of intoxication—That on that day she presented the king with a pistol, saying, “this is the moment to shew yourself;” and on his refusing, called him coward—That she was also a principal agent in the internal war with which France had been distressed.

On the trial, a number of witnesses were examined; but we must observe, that few of the charges appeared to be sufficiently substantiated. A maid servant gave in evidence a conversation which she had formerly held with the duke of Coigny, in which he complained of the immense sums privately remitted by the queen to her brother during his war with the Turks; and some papers were referred to, from which it appeared that the queen had drawn for money on the treasury since the revolution.

The charge concerning her favouring the anti-patriotic sentiments of the body guards at Versailles on the 1st of October, was better supported, and we think, on the whole, was proved; as well as her activity in promoting the flight of the royal family to Varennes.

It appeared also that she had frequently been consulted by the king upon political subjects; that she had recommended some persons to brevets in the gardes du-corps: that she treated her son with regal respect was also proved. But the horrid charge of incest was made upon the authority merely of some indistinct communications from the boy Capet to the mayor of Paris.

Had the conduct of Marie Antoinette been more unexceptionable than there is reason to believe it was, there is not much probability that she could have escaped: after an hour's consultation, therefore, the jury brought in their verdict—“Guilty of all the charges.”

The queen heard the sanguinary sentence with dignity and resignation; perhaps indeed it might be considered by her less as a punishment than as a release. On the 16th of October, at about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, she

she was conducted from the prison of the Conciergerie, to a scaffold prepared in the Place de la Revolution, where her unfortunate husband had previously suffered. Her behaviour at that awful moment was decent and composed. The minister of St. Landrey was appointed to discharge the office of a confessor; and whatever might have been the foibles which disgraced her early years, we have reason, on good authority, to believe that she died a real penitent; and, like her husband, found in the truths of religion a source of consolation of which the persecution of her enemies was unable to deprive her; a consolation which can effectually assuage all the evils of adversity, and can even alleviate the pangs of remorse.

The trial of the unfortunate deputies of the Gironde party was deferred from time to time, till the complete overthrow of their adherents in the departments should give security to their prosecutors, and afford the proper materials for their conviction. On the 24th of October the trial commenced before the revolutionary tribunal, which was attended on that occasion by an unusual concourse of spectators.

The deputies who were accused were, Brissot, Vergniaud, Duperret, Carra, Gardienne, Valazé, Duprat, Sillery, Fauchet, Boileau, Ducos, Fonfrede, La Source, Beauvais, Duchatel, Mainville, Lacaze, Lehardi, Antiboul, Vigée, Dufriche, and Boyer.

Brissot, who was always distinguished as a man of uncommon courage, appeared perfectly tranquil; Carra and Fauchet in some emotion; Boileau and La Source were in dishabille; Ducos and Fonfrede well dressed. When Boileau was asked if he had chosen an official defender? he said, he had given notice to one, and if he should refuse, he must make as good a defence for himself as he could. Antiboul, when asked of what profession he was? said, "a defender of the rights of the people, and a persecutor of tyrants." The act of accusation calls Sillery "the dishonoured confidant of a contemptible prince."

The substance of the act of accusation has been already anticipated in relating the particulars of the contest between the two factions.

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It is remarkable, that among the crimes laid to their charge, are stated, the having caused war to be declared first against Austria, and afterwards against England and Holland. The chiefs of the mountain party had, indeed, protested against the latter measure; and if we consider the pains which the Gironde party took to avoid it, it is only fair to conclude, that a rupture with Great Britain was equally unpopular with both parties.

The article, however, on which they were convicted was, having conspired against the unity and indivisibility of the republic, by exciting a rebellion in the departments of the south, and in that of Calvados. On the 30th of October, twenty-one of these deputies, viz. Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Duprat, Lehardi, Ducos, Fonfrede, Boileau, Gardien, Duchatel, Sillery, Fauchet, Dufriche, Duperret, La Source, Carra, Beauvais, Mainville, Antiboul, Vigée, and Lacaze, were conveyed to the Place de la Revolution, and executed.

The reader will recognize among these names, several of those who were most active in dethroning the king, and establishing a republic. Valazé, who had prepared the charges against the king, stabbed himself as soon as the sentence was pronounced. Fauchet was one of the constitutional bishops; and La Source a protestant clergyman.

Manuel, who had been so active in the dethroning of the king on the 10th of August, and afterwards evinced so much solicitude to preserve his life, was soon after brought to trial and executed. The trial of general Houchard immediately succeeded that of Manuel, and he was convicted of neglect of duty in not endeavouring to cut off the retreat of the British forces from West Flanders. The veteran general Luckner soon after partook of the fate of Houchard; and the learned Bailly, the first mayor of Paris after the revolution, was condemned by the same tribunal, apparently upon an ill-founded charge, viz. that of having entered into a conspiracy with La Fayette to massacre the patriots in the Champ de Mars, in July 1791. The accomplished Barnave, and Rabaut de St. Etienne, suffered also, with many others, before the conclusion

clusion of the year. Of the guilt or innocence of these persons it is impossible to determine, as their trials have never, to our knowledge, reached Great Britain. Of many, if not of most, we may venture to pronounce, that their fate was at least severe, and the respectable characters of some of them will not permit us to suppose them guilty.

The condemnation of the duke of Orleans, latterly known under the fantastical and almost ludicrous title of Philip Egalité, appears to have produced scarcely any sentiments either of horror or commiseration in any party; so completely, though perhaps almost insensibly, does a profligate life excite the indignation of mankind. Yet Egalité, in some instances, had evinced himself the friend of liberty; and, however contemptible his general conduct in life, his death was heroic. He was included in the general decree which removed the Bourbon family to Marseilles, and he was brought to Paris in the beginning of November to be tried before the revolutionary tribunal. He was accused of having aspired to the sovereignty from the first of the revolution; but how far the charge was substantiated, it is impossible to determine, for reasons already assigned. He was conveyed in a cart on the evening of the 6th of November to the place of execution, and suffered with magnanimity, amidst the insults and reproaches of the populace.

The celebrated madame Roland was brought to the scaffold two days after the execution of Egalité. Her great talents have been confessed by all, and the integrity of her character has perhaps only been disputed by that leveller of all moral excellence, the virulence of faction. Her attachment to the party of the Gironde was the only crime alleged against her, and in this attachment she gloried both at the tribunal and on the scaffold.

The campaign terminated on the whole gloriously for the French, though the discomfiture excited by the defeat of the allies was in some measure compensated to the English, by the intelligence, that in the beginning of October the royalists of fort Jeremie, in St. Domingo, had invited the English to take possession of that part of the island,
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and that cape Nicola Mole submitted in a few days after to the British arms. In the East Indies also Pondicherry, and the other French settlements on the Coromandel coast, were taken by the English.

But it was in Europe that the valour and military skill of the French nation displayed itself to the most advantage. The decree for rising in one body acted like an incantation, and seemed to produce an army as if by a miracle. It was however some time before their numerous forces could be brought into action, and in some cases the treachery of the commanders was supposed to act in favour of the combined powers. Early in the month of September, Landau had been invested by the combined powers; but while the French maintained the strong lines at Weissembourg, and on the Lauter, there was but little prospect of success. On the 13th of October, therefore, the Austrian general Wurmser made a grand attack upon the lines of Lauter; and, if we may trust the French account, their generals permitted the Austrians, almost without resistance, to force the lines. The whole of the lines, with the town of Lauterburg, were carried, which Wurmser himself confesses might have held out a siege of several days. The French lost also the whole of their artillery.

The town of Weissembourg made a more formidable resistance, and it was not carried without the loss of between seven and eight hundred men. The French retreated towards Hagenau, from which however they were dislodged on the 18th. The Austrian general lost no time in proceeding towards Strasburg, and on the 25th, again routed the republicans, and was enabled to take possession of Wanzenu. On the 27th he was attacked by the French; but they were compelled to retreat, with the supposed loss of 3000 men.

In the beginning of November the deputies St. Just and Le Bas were sent to Strasburg, to re-organize the discomfited troops. They ordered immense reinforcements from the neighbouring departments; and to afford a salutary example of severity, general Irembert, who was convicted of treachery in the affair of the lines of Weissembourg, was shot at the head of the army on the 9th. A conspiracy was also detected at Strasburg, for delivering
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up the place to the enemy, and the traitors were punished.

These spirited proceedings were not sufficient however to save Fort Louis, (or Fort Vauban) which fell into the hands of general Wurmser on the 14th of November, not without strong suspicions of treason on the part of the commandant. Here however the successes of Wurmser terminated; for on the 21st of November the Austrians were compelled to retreat, and the republican army penetrated to Vautruan, and almost to the gates of Hagenau.

In the mean time the army of the Moselle advanced to co-operate with the grand army of the Rhine; and on the 17th of November the Prussians were defeated near Saarbruck with some loss. On the succeeding day the Prussian camp at Bliescastel was stormed and taken by the republicans; and immediately, under the command of general Hoche, who it is said had formerly officiated in the humble capacity of a postilion, they advanced to Deux Ponts. The post of Hornback, and the heights of Milleback, were carried with great bravery by the French, and the Prussians were immediately compelled to abandon Deux Ponts.

On the 29th and 30th of November, the French were repulsed with considerable loss in two spirited attacks made on the duke of Brunswick's posts near Lautern; but these were more than compensated by the success of the republicans under general Pichegru, on the 8th of December, who carried with fixed bayonets all the redoubts of the allies which covered Hagenau; and on the 22d the allies were driven with an immense slaughter from Bischoilers, Dufenheim, and Hagenau, notwithstanding the almost continued works by which they had covered the line which joins the two posts. The entrenchments on the heights of Reishoffen, Jaudershoffen, and Freyewillers Radneith, are said to have been not less formidable than those of Jemappe, and formed three rows of redoubts, which the allies considered as impregnable. They were however stormed by the army of the Moselle, under general Hoche, who had joined Pichegru; and carried sword in hand. On the 23d and 24th, the French pursued the enemy to the heights of Wrotte, where they had

also erected most formidable entrenchments. On the 26th, general Pichegru prepared to attack these entrenchments in form; but after a fruitless cannonade, the republican soldiers called out to sound the charge, and marched up to the very foot of the entrenchments. A desperate conflict ensued, which lasted from two o'clock in the afternoon till five. At half past six the French were masters of the heights, and at ten all the enemy's posts were abandoned. On the 27th the republican army entered Weiffembourg in triumph. General Wurmsler made good his retreat to the Rhine, and the duke of Brunswick hastily retreated to cover Mentz.

The prince of Hohenloe had summoned Landau on the 14th of December; but receiving an indignant reply from the commandant general Laubadere, the Prussian general Knobelsdorf attempted to establish an intercourse with the garrison, which was spiritedly rejected. In consequence of the retreat of the allies, the siege was raised. Keiserslautern, Guernersheim, and Spires immediately submitted to the French in consequence of these victories.

In the north but little was performed on either side during the latter part of the campaign. On the 19th of November a trifling skirmish took place between a part of the garrison of Ypres, and a party of the French who attempted to establish themselves at Poperinghuc, from which they were dislodged with the loss of 45 prisoners. On the 28th of the same month, they attacked the outposts of the duke of York at Nechin and Liers, but were repulsed with some loss; and on the 30th were again unsuccessful in an attack on the same posts.

The siege of Toulon was commenced immediately after the reduction of Marseilles. On the 8th of September, general Cartaux arrived at the passes of Olioulles. The Spanish and English occupied the heights on the right, and the rebels on the left. As soon as the French general was perceived by the enemy, he was saluted by a general shout of *Vive Louis XVII.* and by a discharge of musketry. At mid-day he ordered the attack, and by two o'clock the enemy were dispersed, 150 of them being killed upon the spot, and a number of prisoners taken by general Cartaux.

taux. On the first of October, the republican troops carried the heights of Pharon, which the English had fortified; but after retaining it a few hours, reinforcements arriving, they were forced again to abandon the post. On the 14th, an action took place between the garrison, who had marched out to the defence of Malbousquet, and the army of general Cartaux, in which the allies lost about 40 men, and the French about 30; no return was however made by the English general of the Toulonese who fell in the action.

On the succeeding day Cape Brun was taken with great bravery by the republican troops; and at the same time a detachment from the garrison, sent to occupy the heights of Thouars, was dislodged, and obliged to retreat into the town. The allies lost in both actions nearly 100 men.

In the beginning of November, general Cartaux was ordered to the command of the army in Italy, and general Dagobert was appointed to command the besieging army at Toulon. About the same period, general O'Hara arrived with reinforcements from Gibraltar at Toulon, having been appointed by his Britannic majesty's commission, governor and commander in chief. On the 30th of November, the garrison made a vigorous sortie in order to destroy some batteries which the enemy were erecting upon certain heights, within cannon shot of the city. The detachments sent for this purpose, accomplished it with silence and success; and the French troops were surprised and fled. Elated unfortunately with the facility of the conquest, the allied troops rushed forward in pursuit of their flying foes, when they unexpectedly encountered a considerable force which was proceeding to cover the retreat of the fugitives. At this moment general O'Hara arrived on the spot; and while he was exerting himself to bring off his troops with regularity, he received a wound in his arm, and was made prisoner by the republicans. It is said, that near a thousand of the British and allied forces were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners on this occasion.

Soon after the capture of the British general O'Hara,

the city of Toulon was evacuated by the allies. On the morning of the 19th of December, the attack began before all the republican forces had time to come up. It was chiefly directed against an English redoubt (Fort Mulgrave) which commanded the forts of l'Eguillette and Ballaguier, defended by more than three thousand men, twenty pieces of cannon, and several mortars. This important post was not able to resist the ardour of the republican army. It was attacked about five o'clock in the morning, and at six the republican flag was flying upon it. This success cost the French about 200 men killed, and more than 500 wounded. The allies lost the whole garrison, of which 500 were prisoners, including eight officers and a Neapolitan prince. The representatives of the people rushed among the several columns, and rallied those who were panic-struck for an instant.

Dismayed by the success of their enemies, the allies evacuated the other forts, and began to take measures for removing their ships out of the reach of the shot and shells which the republicans incessantly poured upon them. More than four hundred oxen, sheep and hogs, with large quantities of forage and provisions of all sorts, and more than an hundred pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the French.

The town was bombarded from noon till ten o'clock the same evening; when the allies, and part of the inhabitants, having first set fire to the town and shipping, precipitated their flight; two chaloupes filled with the fugitives, were sunk to the bottom by the batteries. The precipitation with which the evacuation was effected, caused a great part of the ships and property to fall into the hands of the French, and was attended with the most melancholy consequences to the wretched inhabitants. As soon as they observed the preparation for flight, they crowded to the shores: they demanded the protection which had been promised them on the faith of the British crown. A scene of confusion, riot, and plunder ensued; and though great efforts were made to transport thousands of the people to the ships, thousands were left to all the

the vengeance of their enraged countrymen. Many of them plunged into the sea, and made a vain effort to swim on board the ships. Others were seen to shoot themselves, that they might not endure the superior evil of falling into the hands of the republicans. During all this, the flames were spreading in every direction, and the ships that had been set on fire, were threatening every instant to explode, and blow all around them into the air. This is but a faint description of the scene on shore, and it was scarcely less dreadful on board the ships. Loaded with the most heterogeneous mixture of all nations, with aged men and infants, as well as women; with the sick from all the hospitals, and with the mangled soldiers from the posts just deserted, their wounds still undrest; nothing could equal the horrors of the sight, except the still more appalling cries of distraction and agony that filled the ear, for husbands, fathers, children, left on shore.

To increase the distress, they were without sufficient provisions for this mixed and helpless multitude of human beings; and such as they had were almost unfit for use.

Of thirty-one ships of the line which the English found at Toulon, thirteen were left behind, nine were burnt at Toulon, and one at Leghorn; and four lord Hood had previously sent away to the French ports Brest and Rochefort, with 5000 republican seamen, whom he was afraid to trust. Great Britain therefore obtained, by an immense profusion of blood and treasure which the Toulon expedition cost, only three ships of the line, and five frigates, which were all that lord Hood was able to carry away.

The war on the side of Spain was productive of nothing but petty skirmishes, not worth detailing; and on the side of Savoy, the king of Sardinia appears to have made but a slow progress in recovering his possessions, which the British ministry are so generous as to guaranty to him at an immense expence. On the 27th of September, the Piedmontese were repulsed in attempting to penetrate between Mourienne and Briançonais. The republicans

publicans saw them fall from the top of the mountains, and carried their doubts with the bayonet. The city of Cluz was then in the hands of the French, and they were proceeding to Salons. In the mean time an English vessel arrived at Nice with a flag of truce, and a proclamation to the inhabitants, exhorting them to accept the royal constitution of 1789; but the magistrates of Nice replied, that French republicans would never become slaves, and that no other answer would be made to royalists except from the mouths of cannon.

C H A P. XXIX.

State of parties in England—Meeting of parliament—Mr. Adam's motion respecting Messrs. Muir and Palmer—Debates on the policy of the war—On landing the Hessian troops in England—Grant of men for the use of the navy—Salary to the king of Sardinia—Supplies—New taxes—Bill to prevent money being remitted to France—Proceedings respecting the slave trade—On receiving emigrants into British pay—Motion of the marquis of Lansdowne for negotiation—Bill for augmenting the militia and raising volunteer companies—A subsidy to the king of Prussia—Message from the king respecting seditious practices—Suspension of the habeas corpus act—Lord Howe's victory—Inactivity of the king of Prussia—The parliament prorogued—State trials—Account of the campaign of 1794—Retreat of the duke of York—Lord Moira lands at Ostend—The French capture the Netherlands—Duke of York defeated and crosses the Waal—Maastricht surrenders to the French—Progress of the French in Spain and Italy—Change of affairs in the West Indies—The French cross the Waal—Distress of the British army—The French enter Amsterdam—The stadtholder arrives in England.

[A. D. 1794 to 1795.]

WHILE the republican party in England were secretly exulting at seeing the administration adopt measures which must inevitably endanger the constitution and government of the country, the latter had the vanity and ignorance to suppose, that the temporary cessation of democratic clamour was to be attributed to some steps they had taken towards the suppression of sedition.

The moderate party, the real friends to the constitution, wished for the restoration of peace, the re-establishment of commerce, a temperate and limited parliamentary reform, and the simplifying of the administration of justice in civil cases, being perfectly convinced that such a mode of procedure would much sooner restore prosperity
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and tranquility to the kingdom, than persevering in a ruinous and bloody war on the one hand, or rushing into confusion and anarchy on the other.

The conduct of the tory faction was injudicious in the extreme; they loudly vociferated the justice and necessity of the war, and the restoration of the ancient despotism in France, and of the popish religion, now appeared from some injudicious proclamations issued by the French royalists, to be the ultimate end of all their exertions. They forgot that the impolicy of engaging in prodigal and fruitless wars, of aggravating the national burdens by improvident subsidies, of creating new and expensive offices and places, was certainly not a less effectual means of promoting republicanism, than the preaching of the doctrines of equality, and inculcating the duty of insurrection.

The British parliament met on the 21st of January, 1794. His majesty, in a speech from the throne, called the attention of the two houses to the issue of the war, "on which, he observed, depended the support of our constitution, laws and religion, and the security of all civil society." He also noticed the treaties and conventions into which he had entered with foreign powers, for carrying on the war with greater energy, and mentioned the general loyalty which prevailed among all ranks, notwithstanding the continued efforts to mislead and seduce the people.

The debates on the address were long and violent, and it was curious to observe, that the points of argument urged by ministers for prosecuting the war were very different from those formerly employed by them for engaging in it. The navigation of the Scheldt; the importation of factious persons from France, who were to overturn the British government; and the decree of the 19th of Nov. 1792, were the original motives for engaging in the dispute. It was afterwards discovered, that it was necessary to give to France a monarchical government; the principal argument afterwards rested on *the necessity of maintaining faith and union with our allies*; but as some suspicions afterwards arose with respect to the faith and union of these allies; it was discovered that the

the French nation was incapable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity.

In the upper house, the address was carried by a majority of 97 against 12. In the house of commons, the address was carried by 277 against 59.

On the 10th of March Mr. Adam moved in the house of commons, to review the late proceedings and decision of the supreme court of justiciary in Scotland, against Thomas Muir, and the trial of the circuit court of justiciary against the reverend Fysche Palmer. In the course of his speech, the mover clearly set forth that the crimes mentioned in the indictments against the above mentioned gentlemen, were called *leasing making* in the law of Scotland, which was properly a misdemeanour in the nature of a public libel, tending to affect the state or disturb the government, and that their indictments charged them with no other crime. He also stated that transportation could not, by the law of Scotland, be legally inflicted for *leasing-making*, the act of queen Anne 1703—4, having appropriated to that crime the punishment of fine, imprisonment and *banishment* only; and the annexing of the pain of death to the return from transportation was an aggravation not warranted by law. The lord advocate of Scotland replied to Mr. Adam in a long and elaborate speech, in which he defended the law of Scotland, and the sentence passed upon Mr. Muir and Mr. Palmer. On a division of the house the motion of Mr. Adam was negatived by a majority of 139 against 32.

The minds of men, both within and without the walls of parliament, continued to be agitated by the very interesting question of peace or war, and the consideration of the impediments which obstructed the restoration of that tranquil system of policy, under which the nation had found itself both flourishing and happy. This subject therefore naturally intermixed itself in most of the debates in both houses of parliament during the present session. Independent, however, of the party and temporary politics which were necessarily alluded to, some discussions took place, in which were involved points of the utmost constitutional importance, which were ably contested on
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the part of opposition, Among these stand foremost the debates concerning the employment of foreign troops within the territory of Great Britain.

On the 27th of January, Mr. Dundas brought up a message from his majesty, informing the house that a corps of Hessian troops, employed in his service, having been brought to the coast on the Isle of Wight, to prevent sickness on board the transports, his majesty had given orders, that they should be quartered on the island. An address of thanks was voted for this communication. The next day, Mr. Grey called upon ministers to assign a reason for landing the Hessian troops. Having received an evasive and unsatisfactory answer, Mr. Grey, on the 10th of February, called the attention of the house to this subject, by moving "That to employ foreigners in any situation of military trust, or to bring foreign troops into this kingdom, without the consent of parliament, first had and obtained, is contrary to law." In the course of his speech, he clearly pointed out the illegality of introducing foreign troops into this kingdom. He instanced the 29th of George the second, and the eighth of his present majesty. The motion was ably supported by lord John Cavendish, major Maitland and Mr. Fox, and though the arguments they made use of were unsuccessful as to their object, they will doubtless obtain an influence with posterity on any similar occasion.

The ministerial side of the house acknowledged that the law laid down by the opposition respecting the illegality of landing foreign troops was true in its prominent parts, but contended that the king had an inherent right to land foreign troops in time of war and upon particular emergencies. In support of this opinion, they appealed to the precedents of Henry VII. and VIII. and of the reign of Philip and Mary. When a bill of indemnity was proposed, they contended that it would be absurd to pretend to indemnify measures which were in themselves constitutional and justifiable by the prerogative of the crown, and instanced the period from the year 1698 to 1701, when there was a standing army kept up in this country,

country, and the mutiny bill was suspended without any subsequent bill of indemnity.

A. D. 1794. The next question, which engaged the attention of the house, was the supply for the current year.

When the resolution for granting to his majesty, for the naval service of the present year, eighty-five thousand men, including twelve thousand one hundred marines, passed the house of commons on the 27th of January, it was strongly urged that instead of granting two hundred thousand pounds annually to the king of Sardinia, we ought to add five thousand men to our navy, which would be of more service to England than any service of his Sardinian majesty. The minority side of the house took this opportunity of reprobating the negligent conduct of ministers, in not sufficiently protecting the British commerce by proper convoys. In reply to the insinuations of negligence, some commercial gentlemen in the house enumerated many instances of merchants having expressed their satisfaction at the protection which had been afforded to their trade, and declared that *they* (the respectable alderman Anderson and others) had gained more last year by *underwriting* than by all the other branches of trade in which they were concerned. To this the opposition ably answered "that the fair inference to be drawn from this was a censure upon the party that it was intended to panegyryze, because the *magnitude* of the *premium* was a proof of the danger."

The resolution for allowing his majesty to make good his treaty with the king of Sardinia passed without a division. The chancellor of the exchequer then moved two resolutions, to allow his majesty 4,500,000*l.* for the present year by a loan on exchequer bills, which were put and carried.

On the 3d of February, the house again resolved itself into a committee of supply, and lord Arden moved, that 558,021*l.* should be granted to his majesty for the ordinar-ies of the navy, and that 547,310*l.* be granted for defraying the expences of building ships of war, over and
above

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country, and the mutiny bill was suspended without any subsequent bill of indemnity.

A. D. 1794. The next question, which engaged the attention of the house, was the supply for the current year.

When the resolution for granting to his majesty, for the naval service of the present year, eighty-five thousand men, including twelve thousand one hundred marines, passed the house of commons on the 27th of January, it was strongly urged that instead of granting two hundred thousand pounds annually to the king of Sardinia, we ought to add five thousand men to our navy, which would be of more service to England than any service of his Sardinian majesty. The minority side of the house took this opportunity of reprobating the negligent conduct of ministers, in not sufficiently protecting the British commerce by proper convoys. In reply to the insinuations of negligence, some commercial gentlemen in the house enumerated many instances of merchants having expressed their satisfaction at the protection which had been afforded to their trade, and declared that *they* (the respectable alderman Anderson and others) had gained more last year by *under-writing* than by all the other branches of trade in which they were concerned. To this the opposition ably answered "that the fair inference to be drawn from this was a censure upon the party that it was intended to panegyryze, because the *magnitude* of the *premium* was a proof of the danger."

The resolution for allowing his majesty to make good his treaty with the king of Sardinia passed without a division. The chancellor of the exchequer then moved two resolutions, to allow his majesty 4,500,000*l.* for the present year by a loan on exchequer bills, which were put and carried.

On the 3d of February, the house again resolved itself into a committee of supply, and lord Arden moved, that 558,021*l.* should be granted to his majesty for the ordinaries of the navy, and that 547,310*l.* be granted for defraying the expences of building ships of war, over and above

above the sum allowed [for wear and tear, which was agreed to.

His lordship concluded by moving that the land forces for the service of the current year do consist of 60,244 men including 3,382 invalids.

The motion was opposed by Mr. Hufsey, who strongly contended that an augmentation of the navy would be much preferable to an increase of the land forces. To this the chancellor of the exchequer replied, that "a naval war would prove inefficacious, because it would not bring that immediate pressure upon the enemy, which was necessary to accelerate the prospect of peace. " Mere naval exertions are not sufficient against a country not possessing the command of the sea, nor formidable from its maritime power; a country which is satisfied voluntarily to annihilate its own commerce."

The total amount to be provided for this year was 19,939,000*l*. The additional taxes to aid this expence were one penny per gallon additional upon British spirits in the wash. Ten pence addition per gallon upon brandy, and nine pence per gallon upon rum. An additional duty was also laid upon bricks and tiles, slates, crown glass, paper, and upon attornies.

The chancellor of the exchequer also stated, when he proposed these taxes, that the surplus of the taxes in 1791 amounted to 428,000*l*. to which, when the additional duties of the current year were added, he estimated the sum to be 911,000*l*.

On the 11th of February, the solicitor general introduced a bill into the commons "to prevent the application of debts in the hands of any of the subjects of his majesty, to or for the disposal of persons resident in France, and for preserving the produce of such property to the individual owners." The bill was defended by the attorney general, who asked, what security was possessed by Frenchmen this instant but what depended upon the honour and integrity of their debtors? The law afforded them none; for were a Frenchman to bring an action for the recovery of the most just debt, the defendant might plead that the plaintiff was an *alien enemy*, and there would be an end of

of the action. After passing the present bill, however, he must pay the money, when sued for it, after the war. He stated the bill to be a protection to individuals, and of defence to this country. After the usual formalities the bill was passed into a law.

The humane endeavours of Mr. Wilberforce to effect a favourable change in the state of the slave trade, induced him to bring forward a motion early in the session, for leave to bring in a bill for abolishing that branch of the trade which extended to the supplying of foreign territories with slaves. He accompanied his motion with a declaration of not having abandoned his original intention, of completely extinguishing the whole of this detestable traffic. He observed, that the supporters of the slave trade had rested their cause on the ground of its being necessary to the well being of our West India possessions, which could not otherwise be *supplied* with labourers. They who were sincere in this objection must warmly defend the present motion; for instead of abridging that supply, it tended to increase it, and to prevent our raising the West India possessions of foreigners into a competition with our own. The bill in its progress through the house was opposed by sir William Young, alderman Newnham, and the members for several towns, interested in the slave trade, who, besides the exertions of their representatives, sent petitions, praying that the bill might not pass into a law. After several long debates upon the subject of the slave trade, this bill passed the house of commons; but was afterwards rejected by the lords, upon a motion of lord Grenville, who objected to enter into the merits of the question, pending the inquiry instituted in that house on the general subject of the slave trade.

The employment of the French emigrants in the war against their own country, which had frequently been censured by the opposition, produced in this session debates of considerable magnitude. Major Maitland, in the house commons, on the 1st of February, desired to be informed by Mr. Dundas, whether or not there were French officers employed as aids-de-camp to the earl of

Moira, and receiving British pay. A satisfactory answer to this was evaded by Mr. Dundas, who thought the noble earl had a right to employ such instruments as he thought fit for executing the business with which he was entrusted, and noticed the indelicacy of mentioning the names of the French officers. He declared further, that he should decline answering any questions that tended to disclose the measures of government, the success of which might depend upon secrecy, unless he was commanded to answer by the house. The major replied, that the fact which the honourable gentleman seemed to consider as a very curious and important cabinet secret, might be learned from the meanest private soldier belonging to lord Moira; that he understood from good authority that French officers were employed under his lordship, and received British pay, which, (if such was the fact), was contrary to law, and a fit object of inquiry in that house. Major Maitland concluded by moving for the production of the names of foreign officers serving under the earl of Moira: the motion was negatived; but soon after the earl of Moira introduced into the house of lords a justification of himself, and an account of his fruitless expedition to the coast of Cherbourg. In his narration he informed the house, that he appointed the French staff, and it consisted of two aides-de-camp, a French secretary, and a quarter-master general; that in this appointment he had not been authorised by his majesty's ministers; he conceived that the nature of his command necessarily invested him with a degree of discretion adequate to the end of the destined service.

Among several laudable attempts made by opposition to put an end to the miseries of war by negociation, the speech of the marquis of Lansdowne on the 17th of February, introductory to his motion for peace, claims the first rank. It was replete with sound observation and elaborate reasoning. It was a speech which will necessarily attract the attention of every man who wishes to be acquainted with the actual state of European politics, as containing more real and curious information on that subject, than any written document published at this period.

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The motion was clamorously, but feebly opposed by earl Fitzwilliam, the earl of Caernarvon, lord Darnley, and lord Grenville. The duke of Grafton, at the close of an able speech in defence of the motion, said, "that he thought a continuance of the war threatened his majesty's throne and government, and the safety and prosperity of the country." On a division there appeared for the motion 13, against it, 103.

The augmentation of the militia, and the raising volunteer companies, as well as taking measures for having a number of yeomanry and others in various parts of the kingdom, to bear arms and to be ready to take the field in case of an emergency, were new steps pursued by the present administration, to repel the threatened invasion of this country by the French, or possibly as a corps de reserve, should the growing discontents of the people break out into open insurrection. To aid these measures, the secretary of state addressed circular letters to the lord lieutenants of the several counties, ordering them to take the sense of the inhabitants, upon the best mode to be pursued, in order to insure the internal defence of the kingdom, either in case of an invasion by a foreign enemy, or in case of riots and disturbances at home. In consequence of these letters to the lord lieutenants, meetings were held in most of the cities and considerable towns in the kingdom, and large sums of money subscribed for raising troops, to be ready at the call of the minister.

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into the house, under the form of a motion for an augmentation of the militia. The opposition members readily admitted, that an augmentation of the militia was a measure generally allowed to be constitutional; but as to empowering the people to raise forces by benevolences and subscription money, they contended it was illegal, and contrary to the genuine spirit of the British constitution. It was clear, they said, that a proposition from the executive power to any quarter whatever, for the raising of troops ought to be laid before parliament. They urged, therefore, that the constitution, in its vital principle was attacked and violated, when the executive government of this *free* country had made application to the lords lieutenant of the counties, stating to them the necessity of raising a military force, of which the house of commons was kept in profound ignorance. It was plain also, that if the executive power could raise supplies by any means whatever, without an application to the house of commons, there was an end at once of the representatives of the people; since the representatives were stripped of the only power that made them formidable to the crown and useful to the people.

These ministerial proceedings produced a spirited and constitutional opposition in several parts of the country. Resolutions pointedly against these measures, were carried in some counties; that of Surry in particular. But notwithstanding this opposition, the minister had sufficient *influence* finally to carry this measure, and also to pass a bill to enable the subjects of France to enlist in his majesty's service on the continent of Europe, and to receive officers in such regiments, as engineers, under certain restrictions.

The secession of the king of Prussia from the great cause of the allies, agitated the political world for several weeks. At first it was represented as an abandoning of the cause altogether; but at length the public declaration of his Prussian majesty, announced that the whole proceeded from his inability to supply his troops from the resources of his own country, and, therefore, that he must be subsidized by *some body* to enable him to employ his forces

forces for the great purpose of restoring the monarchical form of government to France. Which of the powers at war was to supply the wants of the Prussian soldiers, was a question easy to be determined. The generosity of Britain towards Prussia, was soon made known to the world by a treaty signed at the Hague, by the plenipotentiaries of the two kings, and the states general of Holland.

The chancellor of the exchequer on the 30th of April, brought this treaty into the house of commons, recommending to them the consideration of the means to enable his majesty to fulfil the stipulation thereof. By the terms of the treaty, his Prussian majesty was to furnish thirty thousand troops, in addition to his contingent, and to the number agreed for by a former treaty; the additional annual expence to Great Britain on this account was estimated at *one million three hundred and fifty thousand pounds*. The minister concluded with moving, that the sum of *two millions and a half* be granted to his majesty to enable him to fulfil the stipulation of the said treaty, entered into for the more vigorous prosecution of the war, and also to provide for such exigencies as might arise during the year 1794. The enemies of the war objected to this subsidy, as a very dangerous example, for every one of our allies might, on account of pretended or real inability, apply to this country for assistance. They urged that the court of Berlin, after the repeated proofs of duplicity it had exhibited, was an improper ally, and not to be depended upon in any point of view. It was also added that his Prussian majesty had *voluntarily embarked as a principal* in the war, long before the British nation was *unhappily* involved in it; and now he had the modesty to come and *demand* payment of them (who certainly could not be equally interested) for *fighting his own battles*. The English minister persisted in the inability of the king of Prussia to continue the war, without pecuniary assistance, and in the necessity of our having *such an ally*; and the house *convinced* by his forcible reasoning, voted the annual two millions and a half as required of them.

Mr. Dundas, on the 12th of May, brought down a
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message from his majesty, purporting that, having received information that seditious practices had lately been carried on by certain societies in London, in correspondence with societies in different parts of the country, and avowedly directed to the object of assembling a pretended general convention of the people, in contempt and defiance of the authority of parliament; he had therefore given directions for seizing the books and papers of the said societies in London, which had been seized accordingly; that his majesty had also given orders for laying them before the house of commons, and recommended to them to consider the same. At the same time several persons, the outline of whose trials will be presently detailed, were taken into custody, underwent several examinations before the privy council, and were committed to the Tower for high treason. The papers taken were made the foundation of an act of parliament, which passed soon afterwards, for suspending the habeas corpus act; they were also referred to a secret committee of the house of commons, who made a long report of their contents. The public found in the parliamentary report of these papers, a repetition of advertisements, proceedings of meetings, resolutions, and discourses on liberty, which they had before read in almost every newspaper. The letters from individuals, and distant members of the societies, to the secretaries, and the correspondence between one society and another, made a considerable part of the report of the secret committee. It is a curious circumstance, that in the possession of individuals connected with these societies, (who were supposed to consist of at least twenty thousand persons about to take up arms) there were found, as the report states, "eighteen stand of arms;" or, as a witty member of the house of commons remarked, eighteen rusty fowling pieces.

The bill for the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act was introduced into the house by the minister, upon the reading the report of the secret committee; and in consequence of his motion, leave was given "to bring in a bill, to empower his majesty to secure and detain

tain such persons as his majesty *shall* suspect of conspiring against his person and government."

The opposition side of the house contended, that they saw nothing in the report that justified so extraordinary and alarming a measure as the suspension of that bill, which was justly considered as the palladium of English liberty. As to the principal argument of the ministerial party, which went to prove the illegality of conventions, it was answered by the other side, that there had been many conventions for a parliamentary reform in both England and Scotland, and to some of which Mr. Pitt and the duke of Richmond had belonged, which were always regarded as perfectly legal and constitutional. But (remarked a sarcastic senator) as lord Foppington says in the play, "I begin to think that when I was a *commoner*, I must have been a very *nauseous* fellow;" so the chancellor of the exchequer, at this period, begins to think, "that when he was a *reformer*, he must have been a very *foolish* fellow." Reasoning and wit, however, were both found too impotent when put in competition with the minister. On the 23d of May, the bill for the suspension of the habeas corpus act passed into a law; by which, persons imprisoned for high treason and sedition, might be detained, without bail or mainprize, until the 1st of February, 1795.

About this time the public received the exhilarating intelligence of a victory gained over the French fleet by admiral lord Howe, off Ushant.

The British admiral having obtained the weather-gage of the enemy, brought them to close action on the 1st of June. In less than one hour the French admiral, engaged by the Queen Charlotte, after a severe conflict, bore off, and was followed by most of the ships of his van in condition to carry sail after him, leaving with the English several of his ships crippled or totally dismasted, exclusive of the Vengeur, sunk in the engagement. Though the enemy fought with a courage bordering on rashness, the superiority of the British naval skill put the English in possession of six ships, which had formed a part of the French fleet.

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The rejoicings on this occasion were great and general, but in the capital they were blended with great irregularities; the peaceful inhabitants were awaked in the dead of the night with the most savage outcries, which were timorously construed by many, previous to an explanation, into annunciations of the most dreadful calamity, rather than those of a signal victory. The mob, in their riotous nocturnal perambulations through the streets, assailed the houses of several persons, supposed to think differently on politics from the men in power. The house and furniture of the earl of Stanhope were materially damaged upon this occasion. To the scandal of the police, these scenes of outrage and riot were permitted for three successive nights.

A few days before the prorogation of parliament, the minister had the mortification to find, that though he had punctually remitted the money from the British treasury, for the use of the king of Prussia, according to treaty, the troops had not moved in the great cause in which he had engaged them; but that his Prussian majesty thought it more to his interest to order them for the protection of his newly acquired dominions in Poland.

The patriotic side of the house embraced this opportunity of reminding administration of the frequent admonitions and predictions which had been given them, respecting the conduct of this monarch, and embarrassed the minister by importunate interrogatories. What services they asked had the king of Prussia rendered this country since he was subsidized? Had he marched any troops to co-operate with ours? and if he had, what did their number amount to? What had they done? And where were they now stationed? What articles of the last or former treaty had his Prussian majesty fulfilled, excepting that of receiving the British money? They also contended that if the misfortunes of the campaign were not owing to the neglect of the king of Prussia, or to the insincerity of the emperor, or any of the allies, but to the prodigious numbers of the French as an *armed nation*, that ministers knew the French to have been an armed nation, for so they had themselves emphatically termed

termed them, and therefore ought not to have consumed the blood and treasure of Great Britain in so hopeless a contest.

On the 11th of July, however, Mr. Pitt was relieved from these embarrassments by the prorogation of Parliament.

On that day, in the house of lords, the duke of Norfolk was prevented from making a promised motion, relative to the state of the nation, by the lord chancellor absenting himself till too late an hour. Lord Lauderdale, on this occasion, moved, "that this House do appoint a Speaker, and immediately proceed to business." No proceeding took place in consequence of this motion, his majesty arriving soon afterwards, and the session was terminated in the usual manner by a speech from the throne to both houses of parliament.

Previous to the prorogation of the legislative body, the duke of Portland, earl Spencer, earl Fitzwilliam, Mr. Wyndham, and others who had formerly styled themselves the Whig party, had condescended to accept offices in subordination to the minister.

As the year 1794 will ever form a conspicuous part in the annals of Great Britain, on account of the number and importance of the trials, which took place in it, for treason and sedition, we shall now proceed to give a brief account of them.

Mr. Thomas Walker, a manufacturer of Manchester, who had greatly distinguished himself in defeating certain measures of the minister, which had been supposed injurious to the manufactures of Lancashire, and who had always been a strenuous advocate for a parliamentary reform, was indicted for conspiring with nine other persons to overturn the constitution by force of arms, and to assist the French in case of an invasion. The principal evidence against the prisoner was a spy, of the name of Dunn, who was afterwards convicted of wilful and corrupt perjury, and who confessed he had been hired for the purpose by certain persons. His evidence was however so contradictory, and absurd, that the prosecution was even abandoned by the counsel for the crown. Mr. Walker was honourably

nonourably acquitted without being put upon his defence, and the witness committed to take his trial for perjury. The whole transaction reflected great disgrace upon some gentleman in Manchester, who, it appeared, had encouraged this man and others to become informers, and to institute prosecutions against such persons in that place as were obnoxious to ministry. It is a melancholy consideration, that the fervour of party had arisen to such an excess in this part of the kingdom, that, on the testimony of this infamous and perjured miscreant, Mr. Paul of Manchester, was imprisoned for nine weeks on a charge of high treason, and Mr. Booth was condemned to two years imprisonment for speaking seditious words, although his evidence upon the trial at the Manchester sessions had been directly contradicted by that of a fair, honest, and unimpeached witness.

The persons who in the month of May had been committed to prison, on the charge of a democratic conspiracy to overturn the government, were kept in close confinement, without any notice of trial, to the month of September. With respect to the causes of this delay, we have no specific information, nor is it within the compass of our narrative to enquire into them. With respect to the motives which induced ministers to open the judicial campaign in North Britain, in preference to the southern part of the island, we are equally uninformed, nor shall we attempt to supply by conjecture what is wanting in evidence. Two prisoners had been committed at Edinburg on a charge of high treason, Robert Watt and David Downie; and in the month of September a special commission was issued with great formality; and Mr. Anstruther, one of the minister's new converts from the whig party, and other gentlemen of the law, were dispatched from London to Scotland for the purpose of conducting the trials. On the 3d of September Watt was tried, and convicted of high treason. The principal charge in the indictment related to a plan which, it appeared, the prisoner had committed to paper, and communicated to several persons, and particularly to Downie, for seizing by force upon the castle of Edinburgh, upon
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the excise office, and the banks; also for seizing the persons of the lord justice clerk, the lords of justiciary and session, and the provost of Edinburg; and for procuring and giving orders for arms to effect these purposes. The principal evidences against the prisoner were a person of the name of Taylor, who was afterwards convicted of felony at the Old Bailey, Alexander Atchison, Arthur M'Ewan, William Bonthorn, and John Fairley, members of different societies in Scotland for the promotion of a parliamentary reform. The production of the paper in question was fully proved; and indeed it appeared that Watt had made no secret of the business, but had proceeded in it with a degree of publicity which must have been fatal to any serious plan of conspiracy. It was further proved, that an order had been given by Watt for the fabrication of five dozen of pikes; but it did not appear that the measures had been received with approbation by any member of these associations; on the contrary, according to these witnesses, the utmost horror and opposition was manifested to proceedings which "might disturb the peace, or shed the blood of their countrymen."

Thus far, on the part of Watt, a *conspiracy to levy war* against the government was clearly proved, though a doubt was entertained by some persons in the law, how far a *conspiracy to levy war* could be construed into an act of high treason, as it is not the conspiring to do it, but the *actual levying of war*, which is specified by the act of Edward the third, and by sir Edward Coke, as constituting an overt act of high treason. But the most curious circumstance in the trial was the prisoner's defence. By the testimony of the lord advocate of Scotland, and by letters from Mr. secretary Dundas, produced and authenticated in court, it appeared that the prisoner had carried on a confidential correspondence with Mr. Dundas, and had actually been retained as a spy in the service of government, and had received money for his services. The prisoner's counsel therefore contended, that what their client had done was with no other view than to arrive more completely at a knowledge of the secrets of those persons whose conduct he was to observe, and, by
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appearing zealous in the same cause, to cover his real intentions of betraying their counsels, and bringing to punishment the enemies of his sovereign. This reasoning however, had so little weight with the jury, that they returned into court with a verdict of guilty in about five minutes. Perhaps the circumstance most in proof of the defence of Watt, is one which is mentioned by Mr. Plowden, but which appears not to have been adduced in argument by his counsel, viz.—“Watt never became a member of any of these societies (for parliamentary reform), but procured constant admission to them, by false pretences and undertakings, for the base purpose of carrying information from them to government, and probably with the still more iniquitous view of working up grounds for such information*.”

The crime of Downie appears to have consisted rather in being a silent auditor of the plans of Watt, than in any active measures which he had taken, except that it appeared that he had paid a bill for 15 pikes, which had been made by Watt's order. So little satisfied indeed were the jury with the verdict of *guilty*, which they brought in, that, “on account of certain circumstances.” they unanimously recommended the prisoner to mercy; and he afterwards received his majesty's pardon, on condition of being transported for life.

On the 10th of September a special commission of oyer and terminer was issued for the prisoners confined on a charge of high treason in the Tower of London; and on the 2d of October it was opened at the sessions house, Clerkenwell, by the lord chief justice Eyre, in an elaborate charge to the Grand jury; and in the course of their proceedings the jury found a bill of indictment against Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, J. A. Bonney, Stewart Kydd, Jeremiah Joyce, Thomas Wardell, Thomas Holcroft, John Richter, Matthew Moore, John Thelwall, R. Hodson, and John Baxter; John Martin, attorney, was afterwards indicted in a separate bill. Mr. Holcroft, who had not been previously in custody, at the

same time voluntarily surrendered himself, and the prisoners were ordered to prepare for trial.

The execution of Watt took place immediately previous to the trials of those who had been indicted in London. The evening before his execution he signed a confession, which was published, and which contained some extravagant accounts of the extent of the conspiracy, of which he was to have been the principal mover.

On the 25th of October Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, J. A. Bonney, Stewart Kydd, Jeremiah Joyce, Thomas Holcroft, John Richter, John Thelwall, and John Baxter were arraigned before the special commission at the Old Bailey. Of the twelve who were included in the first indictment three were not in custody. When Mr. Tooke was asked the usual question of "How will you be tried?" with that expressive air and manner, which he is so able to assume, he fixed his eyes on the court for some time, and emphatically replied, "*I would* be tried by God and my country—But!" Mr. Bonney and Mr. Thelwall both pointed out errors in the indictment, which would have destroyed its validity with respect to them; but of these they declined to take any advantage. As the prisoners desired to be tried separately, the attorney general said he would try Mr. Hardy first. By some unaccountable neglect on the part of the sheriffs, when the jury came to be impannelled on the 28th of October, it appeared that many of them were not freeholders of Middlesex; of those who had answered to their names, a number were challenged on both sides, and at length twelve were sworn.

The indictment was unusually long, and stated nine overt acts of high treason. The first of these was, That the prisoners, with others, having formed an intention of traitorously breaking the peace and common tranquillity of the kingdom, and to stir up, move, and excite insurrection and rebellion in the kingdom, and war against the king, and in order to carry into effect such intention, did meet and conspire amongst themselves and other false traitors to the king, to subvert the government, and to depose the king.

The second overt act was, That these persons did write and compose divers books, pamphlets, letters, and addressees, in writing, recommending delegates to a convention.

The third overt act charged was, That they did consult on the means to form a convention, and on the place where it might be held, &c.

The fourth overt act charged was, That they did agree among themselves, and others, to meet, form, and assemble into a society, for the purposes aforesaid.

The fifth charged, That they caused or procured to be made arms to subvert the government of this country, and to depose the king.

The sixth charged, That they conspired to raise and to levy war within the realm.

The seventh, That they conspired to aid the king's enemies, &c.

The eighth, That they did draw and compose certain books, pamphlets, letters, exhortations, and addressees, and did maliciously publish them for the wicked purposes aforesaid.

The ninth, That they did procure arms for the purpose of levying war against the king, and to excite rebellion, &c.

The opening speech of the attorney general endured for nine hours, and consisted chiefly in a recapitulation of the facts set forth in the reports of the secret committees; and some of the circumstances adduced by the attorney general were (it afterwards appeared) so ill supported, that they were not even brought into evidence. It is a remarkable truth, however, that all the facts which appeared in the least to countenance the charge, were *posterior* to the minister's declaration in the latter end of 1792, "that a conspiracy actually existed to overturn the government."

The written evidence consisted chiefly of advertisements, addressees, &c. published in the newspapers, and of some private letters which had been seized among the papers of the prisoners. Many of these papers were in an intemperate and even indecent style with respect to ministers, and

and other persons in authority; but certainly none of them could by any rational person, be construed into an act of high treason.

On the parole evidence the attorney general had drawn a very candid, and, as it afterwards appeared, a necessary distinction.—“Some of the witnesses (he observed) were above all exception; and some were persons employed by government to watch over the proceedings of these societies.” From the witnesses of the former description, nothing was extracted in the least to criminate the prisoner; and the latter (among whom were the notorious Taylor, and one Gosling, who, on this very trial, was detected in swearing falsely) were found not to be deserving of the smallest credit.

It was a fortunate circumstance for Mr. Hardy, and the members of those societies with which he was connected, that all their proceedings were public and open.—“These transactions which constituted the body of the proof were, (as Mr. Erskine observed in summing up the evidence) not the peculiar transactions of the prisoner, but of immense bodies of the king’s subjects, in various parts of the kingdom, assembled without the smallest reserve, and giving to the public through the channel of the daily newspapers a minute and regular journal of their proceedings. Not a syllable (added that able advocate) have we heard read in the week’s imprisonment that we have suffered (for the evidence for the crown lasted nearly a week), that we had not read for months and months before the prosecution was heard of; and which (if we are not sufficiently satiated) we may read again upon the file of every coffee-house in the kingdom.”

The applications of these societies to the friends of the people and other associations to join them in strenuously promoting a reform in the commons house of parliament, upon a plan of the duke of Richmond, viz. universal suffrage and annual parliaments, and their application to Mr. Fox and Mr. Francis to present their petition to parliament, were insisted upon as strong arguments that a reform in the representation was their sole object. With

this the evidence for the crown completely corresponded; nor could the whole process of cross examination extort from any of the members of the societies who were examined, any concession beyond this. The society in Sheffield was supposed to have gone further than any other in the kingdom; and yet the evidence of the persons from that place was perhaps among the fairest and most consistent that ever was adduced on a trial of this kind. Camage the secretary, when the question was put to him—"I ask you, in the presence of God, to whom you will have to answer, had you any idea of destroying the king, or the house of lords?"—answered with a Spartan brevity, "God forbid!" The spies indeed enumerated several instances (some *true* and some *false*) of rash and inflammatory expressions used at different meetings of the societies, and particularly at Chalk Farm; but not one of these attached to the prisoner, who, it appeared, had always demeaned himself in a most peaceable and becoming manner, and had always been the first to reprove the contrary conduct in any individual.

The charge which at first appeared to bear most against the prisoner, was that of having excited the people to arm against the government. This was the charge which effected the conviction of Watt, and from which the most fatal effects were expected. This charge originated in a letter which was found in Hardy's possession, from Richard Davison of Sheffield, containing a proposal to manufacture pikes of a certain dimension, and at a certain price, to defend themselves, as the letter expressed, from the violence of the *aristocrats*. It also appeared that a person of the name of Edwards had inquired of Hardy where he could procure a pike; when he shewed him Davison's letter, which, however, he had communicated to no other person. It further appeared that one Williams, a gun-smith in the Tower, who bought shoes of Hardy, had asked him whether he wanted a gun? when he replied in the negative.—As the mention of arms had originated in Sheffield, the charge was cleared up to the entire satisfaction of the jury, by the evidence of the Sheffield witnesses. From the testimony of Camage, Broomhead,

Broomhead, and others from that place, it appeared that the whole had originated from an infamous hand bill, which had been circulated in the night, previous to an intended meeting of the Society, exciting the mob of Sheffield to assemble and maltreat the members. Several of the members therefore came armed to the meeting, and others afterwards provided themselves with pikes, as the most portable and convenient weapons of defence. A report that the same violent proceedings against the societies were likely to place in London, occasioned the application of Davison to Hardy.

A pocket knife was also found in the possession of Hardy, which occasioned a long discussion. Upon the testimony of Groves (one of the spies) it was asserted, that one Green had procured these knives for a particular purpose, and for the use of the society. It however afterwards was proved, that Green had accidentally bought one dozen of these knives from a country rider, and, as he dealt in cutlery, had sold them openly, and exposed them for sale in his shop window.

It appeared also that an association had been publicly established at Lambeth by one Franklow a taylor, called "the Loyal Lambeth Association," for the purpose of learning the military exercise. But, besides that it was perfectly public, it appeared that the prisoner Hardy was not implicated in it.

The defence of Hardy, by Mr. Erskine, may be considered as a model of forensic eloquence; and after a number of witnesses had been called to substantiate Hardy's character as a peaceable and inoffensive man, the defence was concluded by Mr. Gibbs. The elucidations of the law of treason cited by these two eminent advocates will, we doubt not, hereafter be referred to as authorities, and remain as standing bulwarks against that most fatal of legal perversions, constructive treason.

An attempt was made to implicate Hardy in the crime of Watt; but it was proved that the former had never corresponded with him, nor knew of the existence of such a person before his apprehension. Mr. Francis also proved that when Hardy requested him to present the petition of

the corresponding society, he had voluntarily offered to come forward and produce all the books and papers of the society, to evince that there was nothing seditious in their conduct, and that their object was purely a parliamentary reform.

The reply was made by the solicitor general Mr. Mitford, who began with confessing the difficulty he felt in following two such able advocates as Messrs. Erskine and Gibbs, and endeavouring to confute them. He observed that much of what had been urged tended rather to accuse the duke of Richmond, and others of his majesty's ministers (meaning, we presume, Mr. Pitt), than to defend the prisoner. He urged, that "the necessary and natural consequences of a national constituted assembly" must be the dethroning of the king. A letter from a society at Stockport to the prisoner, containing these words—"I am directed by the friends of *universal peace*, and the rights of man," was on that account considered as treasonable by the solicitor, because none but an enthusiast, like the fifth monarchy men in the reign of Charles the second, could profess himself a friend to *universal peace*. He admitted that very abominable abuses in government might belong to this country. "I will not dissemble (said he) that there *may* be such, and which as far *as lies in my power*, I shall think it *my* duty to bring forward as soon as I can. In whatever situation a man may stand in a country, he has that interest in it which is far dearer to him than any thing else: and as may be said in a religious view, we are taught, what can a man give in exchange for his soul? so in a civil and political view it may be said, what can a man give in exchange for his liberty?"

Mr. Mitford proceeded to cite a supposed but almost impossible case from some of the casuists of antiquity, viz. "If two men were floating upon a plank in the sea, and the plank would support but one, it has been said that the strongest man would be justified in turning the other overboard."—Here Mr. Mitford burst into tears, and said he "was quite overcome by the dreadful alternative to which the other man was reduced." He asserted, that
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if representatives were to be paid by *their constituents*, (which was a part of the plan of the corresponding society) "it would lead perhaps to all the mischiefs of anarchy and confusion." He reprobated in strong terms a censure in one of the resolutions on the conduct of judge Jeffries, and pointed out an exceedingly treasonable toast—"All that is good in every constitution; and may we never be superstitious enough to reverence in any that which is good for nothing!"

What impression the eloquent speech of Mr. Mitford might make upon the jury we may not conjecture; but after some deliberation, they brought in a verdict of *not guilty*.

Mr. Hardy's deportment thro' the whole of his arduous trial was distinguished by the most exemplary decorum—firm, temperate, and tranquil, he shewed throughout the conscious rectitude of his heart. There was no agitation, no arrogance, no disdain in his manner; no apparent uneasiness of reflection on his past conduct, and no emotion of alarm for its consequences. When the jury pronounced their verdict of *Not Guilty*, he addressed them in a few words of grateful acknowledgement, for the attention they had paid to the long trial, and for the just verdict they had pronounced; but the words were drowned in the low, but universal noise of joy, that filled the court.

Considering the state of parties in this kingdom at the time, we must remark that the joy on Mr. Hardy's acquittal was much more general than we expected. Even those who were evidently adverse to the societies in question appeared to partake in the triumph. There is a wide medium between the approbation of democratical or even very popular principles, and that of constructive treason; and they probably were not insensible to the very judicious remark of Dr. Johnson, on the acquittal of lord George Gordon, as quoted by Mr. Erskine—"I hate lord George Gordon, but I am glad he was not convicted for this constructive treason; for, though I hate him, I love my country and myself."

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four in the afternoon, for the trial lasted eight days. After an interval of eleven days, John Horne Tooke, Esq. was put upon his trial.—This gentleman's character and abilities are too well known to require any panegyric from us, nor would it be either decorous or proper to enter on the detail of character during the life of any man however distinguished. Mr. Tooke had been for a considerable period the warm and intimate friend of Mr. Pitt; and to that friendship many are of opinion, in the zeal and fervour of attachment, he sacrificed both candour and justice in the comparison which he has drawn between that minister and his truly illustrious rival Mr. Fox. In the ages of patronage, the portrait which he has drawn of Mr. Pitt, in the parallel to which we allude, would have secured him the highest honours and emoluments in the disposal of a minister; and a Richelieu or a Medici would have requited the compliment with a pension for life. The disinterested patriotism of Mr. Pitt, therefore, has been highly extolled by his adherents, who could sacrifice a friend and fellow labourer in the cause of reform, when that reform became, in his opinion, dangerous to the state; who could prosecute with the utmost rigour the man to whom he was most indebted for his political reputation; and who could be so insensible to posthumous fame, as to disregard a panegyric, which, but for this alloy, must have handed down his name to posterity in a point of view, perhaps beyond both his merits and abilities.—Of this praise we do not wish to defraud Mr. Pitt.

It is much to be regretted that our limits necessarily confine us to a very brief abstract of these trials, and that we can neither give the arguments of the counsel, nor even the depositions of the witnesses, in that full and copious manner which the subject so justly merits. Mr. Tooke's trial commenced on the 17th of November. After some conversation relative to a demand made by Mr. Tooke to quit the bar and sit at the table with his counsel, the court granted his request as an indulgence "on the score of health;" and on that principle it was
accepted

accepted by Mr. Tooke, though he begged to be understood, that he did not change his ground, but conceived he had a right to this situation, though he was willing to accept it under the name of an indulgence, to save time. After the usual challenges were made, a deficiency of three persons appeared. Mr. Tooke then addressed the court, and insisted that the crown, by the stat. 3 of Edward the first, had no right to any peremptory challenges whatever; and after some altercation, the attorney general was compelled to abandon his challenges, and three of the jurors who had been set aside upon that principle were impannelled and sworn, to complete the jury.

The charge was opened by the solicitor general Mr. Mitford, who informed the jury, that the "distinct imagination of personal harm to the king formed no part of this charge;" and he contended, that "It was not material *whether a person so charged had, in his contemplation all the consequences of that which he is about to do*; it is sufficient if such are the *probable* and ordinary consequences." He confessed that he felt his own *insufficiency* for the task imposed upon him. He said, he did "not know what might be the consequence of this trial; whether that constitution, to which a great majority of the people of this country are attached, was to be defended by the law of this country, or whether those that have formed that attachment may be compelled to *rally round its standard, and defend it by their own arms and force*."

He proceeded to cite various proceedings of the constitutional and corresponding societies, to prove that the leaders of these societies had formed a plan for the subversion of the constitution; and as, in his former address, Hardy the shoe-maker was represented as the origin and main spring of all these proceedings, so in the present that part was transferred to the prisoner Mr. Tooke, whom he compared, in the conclusion of his speech, to lord Levat and Judas Iscariot.

Some difficulties having arisen in the commencement of the trial concerning the indentifying the hand writing of Mr. Tooke, he offered voluntarily himself to identify it, wherever it appeared, adding, "I protest I have never
done

done an act—I protest I never have had a sentiment—I protest I never had a thought of any important political nature, which, taken fairly, I have the smallest degree of disposition not now to admit.—I am anxious that my life and character should go together, and I wish to admit all that I have said, done, or written.”

The lord president observed, that he should prefer that the evidence should take its course. “I do not think (said his lordship), that any prisoner is quite cognizant to take upon himself to admit evidence that may be adduced against him.”

Mr. Tooke replied, “If it was a libel I would not do so; but in a matter of high treason, where subtle arguments cannot take place, I have no fear in doing it; but, if they cannot, I desire to be the first man that dies upon that doctrine. I am old enough to wish to be the first man, because I shall be sure to be the last. I am not at all afraid either of construction or of the consequences.”

Some other altercations took place in the early stages of the trial; but the whole was soon converted into such a scene of pleasantry and good humour, as perhaps never occurred in a trial for a capital offence. It appeared on the evidence, that the minister had been more than usually terrified by a letter from Mr. Joyce to Mr. Tooke, which had been intercepted, and which was in substance as follows:

“Dear citizen,

“This morning citizen Hardy was taken away by an order from the secretary of state’s office. They seized every thing they could lay hold on.—Query.—It is impossible to get ready by Thursday? Yours,

“J. JOYCE.”

The query, it appeared from the evidence, related merely to an extract which Mr. Tooke was to have made from the red book of the places and emoluments derived from the public by Mr. Pitt and his family, and which was to have been published in the news-papers. Immediately on the intercepting of this letter, it appeared a strong body of light horse was ordered to Wimbledon, and warrants were issued for the apprehension of Mr.

Tooke

Tooke and Mr. Joyce. On this and other parts of the charge the prisoner exercised his wit and raillery with such effect, that the judges themselves could not help joining in the ridicule. From various other evidence it appeared that Mr. Tooke was a man of such moderate principles, that even some of his majesty's ministers went much further that he did on the subject of a parliamentary reform; that it had even been reported in the societies that he was pensioned by ministry; and that in a conversation with major Cartwright on the topic of a reform, Mr. Tooke made use of the remarkable expression—"You would go to Windfor; but I should choose to stop at Hounslow."

The defence by Mr. Erskine was masterly. The opening was remarkably forcible and impressive. "When," says Mr. Erskine, "I stood up here on a former occasion, I had, gentlemen of the jury, to contend against what I tremble to look back on—I had to contend with what no other man at any time in England ever had to contend with—first of all as the representative of a poor, lowly, and obscure mechanic, known, of course, to persons equally obscure with himself only—I had to contend in his name and person against that vast, powerful, extensive, but, after the verdict which has been given, I will not say crushing influence of the crown of England; I say this with all that respect which belongs to its authority, for, in my opinion the administration of government and law ought to be dear to every man.—I had, gentlemen, besides that, to struggle, from the nature of the cause, with that deep and solid interest which every good subject must take and ought to take in the security of the life of the chief magistrate, called upon by the law to execute the laws, and the reverence due to the authority of the constitution and government. I had to struggle with what is much more difficult than all, with that which is the characteristic of Englishmen, and which I hope ever will be, that general benevolence they must ever feel for every thing that is dear and interesting to the sovereign upon the throne, of whom, surely, personally, we have nothing to complain. This would have been enough, independent of other circumstances, at any time; but at what season had

had I to contend with it? I had to contend with it when there was a cloud of prejudices raised up against every person whose name is mentioned or thought of in the course of the cause, and against those societies, for only doing what their betters have done and approved of at other times; and who were, as I say, only actuated by honest zeal to demand what they might think belonging to them—I had to contend also against prejudices fomented by wickedness, which it is out of the power of human language to utter one idea concerning—That is not all, for prejudices in such a cause as this can go but a very little way—I had to contend with this in a fearful season, when the face of the earth was drawn into convulsions, when various revolutions were daily rising up, and when some men, because they chuse to pretend alarm, wished to turn the edge of that which has no concern with the business of others, to the utter destruction of those who happened to be engaged in the business long, long, and often proceeded upon, in other seasons.

“Gentlemen, when one reflects upon the stability of the law of England, and when one reflects upon the faithful administration of it, one might say, Yet this might be provided against, there still remains that which is even paramount to the law—that great tribunal which the wisdom of our ancestors raised in this country for the support of the people’s rights—That tribunal which has made the law, that tribunal which has given me you to look at, that tribunal that is surrounded with an edge as it were set about it; that tribunal which from age to age has been fighting for the liberties of the people, and without the aid of which it would have been in vain for me to stand up before you, or to think of looking round for assistance. But, gentleman, in that quarter, which always has been the shield of the subject, was found a sword drawn to destroy him. The house of commons was the accuser of my client; the house of commons made up the brief for the counsel of the crown. I am making no complaints of the house of commons, but stating the fact; that the briefs without which my learned friends as they agree, could not have proceeded in the cause,

cause, were prepared by the commons of Great Britain, preceded by proclamations in every part of the kingdom, stamped by the highest authority, in order that the prejudices of that authority might be as extensive as the whole island.

“Gentlemen, this is a case altogether new; for when a man is impeached by the house of commons, he is not tried by a jury of his country—Why? Because the benevolent institutions of our wise forefathers forbid it; they considered, when the commons were the accusers; the jury were the accusers; they considered the commons at large as accusers and jury. Here one would think the commons had no sort of connection with the people of England, but that they were holding out a siege against those whose representatives they are and ought to be. In such cases the lords in parliament have been appointed as a court of justice, and an Englishman, a common man, is not forced before the house of lords when accused by the commons; but he goes there because it is the only place where he can stand for justice. But, gentlemen, the lords of England did not stand in that capacity; they too were accusers; they, to whom alone, under such accusation, we could fly for protection, joined the commons in laying all this matter before you, which you have heard in the course of the cause. We had, besides all this, a mass of matter which the human understanding is not able to disentangle, which no human strength of body can go through the examination of, and which was therefore produced. I go along with the court in what it has decided, not waving any privileges of my client. I conceive the adjournment that took place, was founded upon that necessity which probably, if it had existed before, would not have been thus lately to be decided by their lordships; but if it be so, what shall we say of that case in 1794, after a constitution has existed for a number of years, for which we were obliged to catch at any device, indulgence, or consent, and at last the judges consulted to know how they should deal with a cause that had no parallel, and was nothing like what any man before had to encounter with?”

In the course of his speech, Mr. Erskine had occasion to mention Mr. Paine's works, and related the following fact :

“ The second part was published, and in every man's hands : it was prosecuted as a libel, and it was not determined till 1793, when it was brought to a trial. O shame ! you will say, when I relate what I am about to do—that there was a conspiracy formed, that the author should not be defended : that was the clue to Mr. Horne Tooke's conduct ; there was a conspiracy, that Mr. Paine was not to have the benefit of a trial ; he was a poor man, and he could not defend himself ; he was to have no counsel, and I who speak to you, was threatened with the loss of my office, if I undertook his defence as an advocate, as I do in this place ; I was told, Mr. Paine must not be defended ; I did defend him, and I lost my office.”

In the conclusion, he states in beautiful language a circumstance greatly to the honour of the prisoner.

“ Now, gentlemen, I must conclude with saying, the part which this gentleman has acted in this cause has certainly entitled him to the greatest respect from me, because, undoubtedly, I was prepared to conduct it in a different manner, by a selection of those parts of the evidence, and by a minute attention to those particular entries, where I could have separated him from the rest. I could have made a defence which would have kept his vessel out of the storm ; I could have brought him safe into the harbour of peace, while those men were to ride out the storm. But he would not suffer his defence to be made upon that ; and though he has nothing to do with the conspiracy, he held out a rope to save them ; he charges me to say, I will shew the other men had no such guilt belonging to them, and I rejoice in being the advocate to do it. I declare, my heart was never so much in a cause :—you must see, I am in a manner tearing myself to pieces by what I am doing ; I have neither voice nor strength to pursue it, but I have the most perfect reliance and confidence in your justice : I am asking no favour of you ; I am not endeavouring to captivate you by elocution ;
but

but I conclude this case, as I began the last, with imploring, that you may be inspired by that power, which can alone impregnate the human mind with true principles of truth and justice."

On the part of the prisoner, a number of witnesses of high rank, and connected with administration, were examined: among these were the duke of Richmond, lord Camden, Mr. Beaufoy, and Mr. Pitt. They all appeared to have drank most copiously of the Lethean stream, and Mr. Pitt in particular seemed literally to have quite *forgotten* all that he had formerly attempted in the cause of reform. On a letter being put into his hand, Mr. Tooke asked him, if that letter was his hand-writing? He owned it was. Upon lord chief justice Eyre's asking what that letter had to do with the case, Mr. Tooke declared, that he had never followed any other plan of parliamentary reform than that proposed by Mr. Pitt; namely that which was necessary to the independence of parliament, and the liberties of the people.

Mr. Pitt being asked by his lordship, to what description of persons his letter was addressed? he answered, that he could only judge from the contents of the letter, to what description of persons it was directed; and he *thought* he must have sent it to some person who acted as chairman to a Westminster committee. He recollected *nothing more* about that letter. He said he recollected a meeting at the Thatched House tavern, relative to a motion for a parliamentary reform, which he had made in the house of commons, in May 1782. He could *not recollect* with certainty who were present; but he believed Mr. Tooke was present. Mr. Tooke asked Mr. Pitt, whether he had not recommended to endeavour to obtain the sense of the people throughout England, in order to be a foundation for a future application to parliament? He said he had no particular *recollection* of recommending such a measure: so far as he could *recollect*, it was the general sense of the members to recommend petitions to parliament in the next session, with a view to reform.

Mr. Tooke hoped that his lordship would now allow him to read Mr. Pitt's letter. This, however, his lordship refused; and it was therefore returned to Mr. Tooke.

Mr. Pitt, upon cross examination by the attorney-general, said, that there was nothing passed at that meeting respecting bringing about a convention by delegates from different bodies of the people. *There never was such a thing agitated in his presence.* Mr. Tooke asked him, what that meeting was, but a convention of delegates, from different great towns and counties sent by committees of those towns and counties of England; He said he had not sufficient *recollection* how that meeting was composed; but he did not consider it as a meeting that was authorised to act for any body but themselves. Mr. Tooke said, he would perhaps *recollect*, that it had been *objected in the house of commons*, to the very petition which they presented, that it came from persons in a delegated capacity? He said he had no *recollection* of any such thing. He did not *recollect* exactly how that meeting was composed; and, therefore, did not know but that some of those persons might have been deputed by others.

The evidence of Mr. Sheridan went almost to the direct contradiction of that which had been given by Mr. Pitt. He had met Mr Tooke in 1780 at a convention or meeting of delegates, from different parts, who were to consider the best means of procuring a parliamentary reform, and to act for those who deputed them; he was himself a delegate for Westminster. The matter, he said was notorious. He said they certainly did mean to *awe* the parliament not by any illegal means, but by a proper and constitutional *awe*. Mr. Sheridan proceeded to enumerate the places where these meetings were held, and mentioned in particular Guildhall, and the duke of Richmond's at Privy Garden.—Here Mr. Pitt begged leave to *correct* his evidence, and confessed that he was present at some meeting at Privy Garden, where there were delegates from different counties.

The evidence was commented upon in a most able and satisfactory manner by Mr. Gibbs, who insisted, “that the evidences for the crown had, of themselves, given a most complete verdict of acquittal.” The reply of the attorney general went chiefly to infer the guilt of Mr. Tooke from his having conferred with Hardy, and *corrected*

rected some of the publications of the corresponding society. The case, however, was so clear, that the jury had not retired above six minutes before they returned with a verdict of *Not guilty*.

After the acquittal of Mr. Tooke, which took place on the 22d of November, the attorney general declined any further prosecution of the remaining members of the constitutional society; and on Monday, December the 1st, a jury being impannelled *pro forma*, Messrs. Bonney, Joyce, Kyd, and Holcroft, were acquitted and discharged.

The trial of Mr. Thelwall commenced on the same day.

The charge was opened with great ability by Mr. serjeant Adair; but no new evidence was adduced upon the trial, except some intemperate expressions at the various meetings at Chalk Farm, &c. and at his lecture room, which were supported by the testimony of the spies, Lynam and Taylor, whose evidence was afterwards rendered nugatory by that of two other witnesses. The prisoner was defended by Messrs. Erskine and Gibbs with their usual ability, and this jury also brought in a verdict of *Not guilty*.

We shall now proceed to give a brief account of the affairs of Europe and the important campaign of 1794, which terminated so disastrously to the allied powers.

We closed the relation of the affairs of France in the last chapter with the re-taking of Toulon, the refusal of Nice to surrender to the British arms, and the success of the French in the Netherlands. These eminent victories were attributed by many to the energetic administration of Robespierre. The plaudits, however, which he was accustomed to receive on these occasions from the populace of Paris, inflated him with the most ambitious designs, and hurled him into all the detestable cruelties of a tyrant and an oppressor. The excesses committed by him and his party, at length excited almost general indignation against them, and after a bloody insurrection, they were deservedly led to that guillotine, to which they had previously

viously devoted so many victims to their revenge and cruelty; with them fell the power and influence of the jacobin society.

The fate of the Netherlands, and of West Flanders in particular, was no sooner decided, than lord Moira was despatched to Ostend, with the remains of that army which was to have established royalty in Brittany, and arrived only in time to assist at the evacuation of that place. The reinforcement of lord Moira amounted to 10,000 men, and it was the latter end of June when his lordship arrived at Ostend. By the capture of Ypres on the one side, and of Bruges on the other, the situation of his lordship was rendered critical. The French in the mean time were advancing upon Ghent in great force, and but little expectation was entertained of general Clairfait being able to make any effectual resistance in that quarter. By the reinforcement remaining at Ostend, the place might perhaps have been defended for some time; and while the British remained masters of the sea, the greater part of the troops might have been able to reembark, should they be closely pressed. On the contrary, to relieve the allies, and to support the duke of York in particular, appeared to the British commander an object of more urgent importance than the precarious possession of a single town; and whatever movement was to be made required despatch, lest the advance of the French armies might completely cut off the communication. A council of war was therefore called by the earl of Moira, and it was determined immediately to evacuate Ostend. This difficult and laborious task was committed to colonel Vyse. On the morning of the 1st of July, he began to embark the troops on board the shipping, which lay at single anchor in the harbour; and the baggage and stores were on board before night. The French entered the town as the last detachment embarked. Three columns of infantry were admitted by the west gate, with two pieces of cannon, and began immediately to fire upon the British transports, which was answered by the frigates and gun-boats. The inhabitants received the French with transports of joy; and the republican general Van Damme

Daname immediately convoked them, and desired them to choose provisional representatives. The British fleet, amounting in all to 150 sail, took their departure for Flushing on the 3d. The Gatton East India ship, laden with ordnance stores, unfortunately ran aground in getting out, and it was necessary to set her on fire to prevent her falling into the hands of the republicans. The wealth which was left in the place was considerable, as it was impossible in so short a time to remove the whole of the stores; and from the convenience of the port, the acquisition to the French republic was important.

While colonel Vyse was engaged in conducting the evacuation of Ostend, lord Moira with his main army repaired to Malle, about four miles from Bruges, on the great causeway to Ghent, and shortly after effected a junction with general Clairfait. On the 3d of July the duke of York retreated from Renaix to Grainont, and the sick were sent to Antwerp. On the same day the French entered Tournay, the handful of Austrians and Hessians who had been left there by the duke of York, having hastily evacuated the place. The inhabitants of this town had been more attached to the English than those of any other in the Netherlands, yet they received the French with every mark of festivity and rejoicing, and liquor was brought to regale them at the gates by which they entered. The republican army entered Ghent on the same day, which rendered the situation of the English precarious, as the French were now nearer Antwerp by twenty miles than the duke of York. Oudenarde was evacuated at the same time; and at this place the French found twenty-four pieces of artillery, besides the magazines and ammunition. At Tournay they found 20 guns spiked, 10,000 musquet balls, a large quantity of gunpowder, 200 rations of forage and barley, and several magazines. Near that city they also took fourteen barges laden with ammunition.

About this period a statement of the loss in killed sustained by the combined powers from the capture of Landrecy (30th May) was presented to the national convention; and as no other return has fallen within our knowledge,

knowledge, we embrace the opportunity of inserting it, without pledging ourselves for the correctness of the report, which is given in the words in which it was made.

“ On the 2d Prairial, (21st May) in the first combat near the wood of Bonne Esperance, 1500 slaves were killed.

“ On the 5th Prairial, (24th May) in the combat near the abbey of Obbe, 1500 slaves.

“ On the 7th Prairial (26th May) in the attack of Montigny, 1000.

“ From the 7th to the 15th Prairial, (3d June) when Charleroy was first blockaded, 2000 Austrians.

“ On the 28th Prairial, (16th June) in the very bloody engagement on that day, 6000 of their accomplices.

“ On the 30th Prairial, (18th June) near Harleymont, 200.

“ On the 7th Messidor, (25th June) 800 bit the dust.

“ On the 8th Messidor, (26th June) in the celebrated battle of Fleurus—in that battle which will eternally recall to our remembrance the skilful march of the soldiers of the army of the Moselle, who penetrated the woods of the Ardennes, and crossed the rocks of the Meuse, to afford an example of discipline to the enemy, and to beat them at Charleroi, in concert with the armies of the North and Ardennes—in that battle we have stated the loss of the allies to be between 8 and 10,000. The representatives of the people have informed us, that the reports of deserters since the battle of the 8th Messidor estimate the loss of the enemy at 15,000. On this part of the frontier the number of deserters from the imperial standard is 600. To this we may add the garrison of Charleroi, which amounted to 3000 slaves, and which surrendered at discretion.

“ Total of the killed, &c. 31,600.

“ Besides these, 6000 were taken, and 67 pieces of cannon, in the battle fought before the capture of Ypres. To this number must be added the amount of the garrison of Ypres, which is 7000 men.”

The beginning of July was fatal to the allies in every point.

point. On the 2d, the prince of Cobourg was again defeated near Mons, and that place immediately submitted to the republicans, who entered at one gate while the Austrians retreated through another. The prince of Cobourg next attempted to make a stand near the forest of Soignes, where he intrenched himself strongly. The French attacked the Austrian batteries with the bayonet, and carried them all. The prince of Cobourg is said to have lost 7,000 men in this fatal conflict. With the miserable remains of his army the prince ordered a retreat in the night through Brussels and its environs, which he effected in good order. He had previously ordered the magistrates to enjoin the inhabitants, on pain of death, to confine themselves to their houses, lock their doors, and even bar up their windows. Such was the melancholy state in which this representative of the emperor took leave of that place, which his master but a short time before had entered in triumph.

The republican armies of the North, the Sambre, and the Meuse, formed a junction at Brussels about the 10th of July, "with as much gaiety and tranquillity," said the reporter, "as would have been manifested at a civic festival." The magazines and stores which fell into the hands of the French in the course of their progress are beyond computation. The rich harvest of the Netherlands was then on the ground; and contributions of corn and money were levied on the corporations and the monks.

It was expected that Nieuport would have surrendered immediately on the fall of Ypres; it however resisted till the 19th, and the brave garrison sustained a most severe bombardment during the whole siege from an army of 30,000 men, by whom it was invested. A number of emigrants taken in arms at Mons and Nieuport were put to death.

The surrender of Ghent and Oudenarde, added to the other successes of the French, did not permit the duke of York long to retain his position at Gramont. In the morning of the 4th, he began his retreat. The line moved off about seven, and at four in the afternoon they arrived at the heights of Lombecke St. Catharine. The
marquis

marquis Cornwallis, who had been despatched on an unsuccessful mission, to dispose the king of Prussia to fulfil his engagements, was at this time on his return, and accompanied the army from Gramont to Antwerp, where he left it on the 10th.

When the duke retreated from Gramont, lord Moira's army was at Alost. On the 6th, his outposts were attacked; and the picquets being driven in, the French penetrated to the town: his lordship, however, arriving with a reinforcement, they were repulsed. The loss of the British in killed, wounded, and missing, was only thirty. From the moment of their quitting Ostend, this brave army had suffered incredible hardships, as they marched without tents or baggage.

From Lombecke St. Catharine's the duke of York marched on the 5th of July towards Mechlin; and on the 8th was joined by lord Moira's corps. On the 12th, the outposts occupied by the British, in front of the canal leading from Brussels to Antwerp, were attacked and driven into Mechlin, upon which place the republicans also fired; but on a reinforcement being brought up by the earl of Moira, they were obliged to retreat with some loss. On the 15th, however, the French renewed the attack, and succeeded in obliging the posts on the left of Mechlin to abandon the canal and retreat from the dyke.

Mechlin was immediately evacuated by the Austrian garrison, and Antwerp itself was no longer considered as a safe retreat. On the 20th, lord Moira took his leave of the army; and the Duke of York only continued in the vicinity of Antwerp, to give the Dutch time to put their fortifications in repair, and prepare for a vigorous defence. The prince of Cobourg at this time informed the duke by letter, that he meant to have given battle to the enemy, had not the Dutch fallen back and left his army too weak to attempt it. One expression is remarkable in the prince's letter: speaking of the allies (he says) "We seem to be bewitched." An exclamation which strongly marks the confusion and want of system prevalent in the combined armies.

It is a singular circumstance, that lord Moira conceived it

it necessary to enter into a justification of his conduct in a written address, which was circulated among the officers. Whether it arose from a mistrust of the ministers, whom he might suspect of an intention of sacrificing him to their own reputation; or from a wish of marking his disapprobation of the mode which they had adopted for the conduct of the campaign, we cannot presume to decide. In the address in question, his lordship informs his brother officers, that the orders under which he embarked, pointed out the restricted object of defending Ostend; and that he had told the ministers, that "any orders for his serving in Flanders must occasion his immediate resignation." The day after his landing, however, he heard so much of the state of affairs in the country, that he thought he could not honestly confine his attention to the service exactly assigned him. He then made a proposal to generals Clairfait and Walmoden to unite their forces, and act from Bruges to Thielde, upon the left wing of the French. On the road to Bruges, however, he received a letter from the duke of York, which had come round by Sluys, desiring "that lord Moira would embark his whole army, and join him by way of Antwerp;" but the other object was too far advanced to leave room for the obedience of this order. From general Clairfait he soon after received a declaration, "that on account of prince Cobourg's defeat, he could not fulfil any engagement with lord Moira, and that he expected to leave Ghent in a few hours." At the same time he was pressed by the duke of York to march by Sluys and Sas-de-Gand (the other road appearing out of the question) and join the duke's army more rapidly than the passage by sea would allow.

In consequence of this exigence, lord Moira proceeds to state, that he resolved to push forward by the route of Ecloo and Ghent. This arrangement, however, he observes, occasioned many inconveniences from the privation of baggage, &c. The evacuation of Ostend, &c. was therefore immediately determined on. The rapidity of the march (he adds) fortunately exposed nothing to chance, though the French general had orders to strike at the

the corps at all events, and had taken every preliminary measure for that purpose. Lord Moira was succeeded in his command by general Abercrombie.

The prince of Orange in the beginning of July had taken post at Waterloo, and here he was at first successful in repelling an advanced guard of the French. He was soon, however, compelled to abandon this post by the advance of the republican armies to Brussels. He attempted afterwards to make a stand along the canal of Louvain; but the French bringing up continual reinforcements, he was obliged with considerable loss to retreat on the 16th across the Dyle, and established for a short time his head quarters at Nyle. It was in vain that the Stadtholder solicited the Dutch by repeated proclamations to make a levy of one man in ten throughout the United Provinces. A considerable proportion of the people, it appeared, were disaffected to his government, and the rest were sunk in an incorrigible torpidity.

The French generals lost no time in advancing from Brussels to Louvain. General Kleber proceeded on the 15th of July with one division towards that city; while to favour this movement the divisions under generals Lefevre, Dubois, Championet, and Morlet, advanced in front of the Dyle. At the iron mountain the unfortunate Clairfait again attempted an ineffectual resistance, but was completely defeated by general Kleber, with the loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of 6000 men; while the generals Lefevre and Dubois seized on the position of the abbey of Florival. General Kleber's advanced guard next made an attack upon Louvain, which they carried after an obstinate resistance. General Lefevre at the same time drove the Austrians as far as Tirlemont, killed an immense number, and made many prisoners.

It was at first the intention of the commanders of the combined armies to defend Namur, and to form a line of defence from that city to Antwerp; but these successes of the republicans, and their rapid movements, totally disconcerted this plan. Namur was abandoned by general Beaulieu on the night of the 16th, leaving behind him only 200 men, who surrendered both the city and citadel

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on the first summons. A large quantity of artillery was found at Namur. On the 20th, the keys of the city were presented at the bar of the national convention.

The important pass of the Lier, where general Walmoden was posted, was forced nearly about the same time; and on the 23d the French sent a trumpeter to Antwerp, to inform the inhabitants that they intended to visit them on the succeeding morning, which they did at eleven o'clock, and took quiet possession of that city.—The allies had previously set fire to the immense magazines of forage there; and destroyed in different kinds of stores to the amount of *half a million sterling*. The French commissioner however stated in his despatch, that he found immense magazines, especially of hay, undestroyed, and thirty pieces of cannon.

The retreat of the Austrians from Louvain left open the territory of Liege to general Jourdain, who, with the armies of the Sambre and the Meuse, lost no time in improving his success, and endeavouring to press the enemy more closely towards Maestricht. His advanced guard marched towards the river Jarr on the 27th. The allied army before Liege resisted the cannonade for some time, “but the republican charge (says general Ernouf) soon put them to flight.” The French were most cordially received at Liege, while the enemy retreated to the heights of the Chartreux, where they were entrenched, and in a petty spirit of revenge directed their fire against the city. In this post, however, it appears they maintained their ground for some time after the capture of the city.

About the same period fort Lillo was evacuated by the allies; and on the 29th the French general Moreau took possession of the island of Cadzand, where he found seventy pieces of cannon, a third of them brass, with a quantity of tents, stores, and waggons.

The garrison of Sluys was summoned early in the month of July by general Almain, but the commander Vander Dugn returned an answer remarkable at once for its brevity and spirit—“The honour (says he) of defending a place like Sluys, that of commanding a brave

garrison, and the confidence they repose in me, are my answer." This brave and able commander resisted the torrent till the 25th of August, when honourable terms were granted. The garrison were made prisoners of war; but marched out with the honours of war "in testimony (says the French general) of the fine defence they have made."

The armies of the Rhine and the Moselle were not inactive during these successes of their brethren. On the 12th of July, general Michaud attacked the Prussians near Edickhoffen; and, to favour their operations in that quarter, advanced at the same time upon the Austrians before Spires. The contest was long and bloody, and both parties claimed the victory. The French general of division, Laboissiere, by venturing too far, was taken prisoner. On the following day the French renewed the attack on the Prussians with redoubled vigour. The battle lasted from early in the morning till nine at night—general de Saix made himself master of Freschboch and Freimersheim. At the same time a second division under generals Sisca and Desgranges combined its movements to the left of the mountain, with those of the other column. They attacked seven times, and at length carried by assault, amidst a terrible fire, the important posts fortified and occupied by the Prussians on Platoberg, the highest mountain in the whole territory of Deux Ponts. Nine guns, besides ammunition, waggons, horses, and a number of prisoners, were taken by the republicans. The Prussian general Pfau was killed in the action, and two others wounded. The remainder of the corps under the hereditary prince of Hohenlohe retreated at eleven o'clock at night to Edickhoffen.

On the 14th, the French made an attack upon Tripstadt; they drove in the out-posts, but the enemy was strongly entrenched upon steep and shelving mountains. Here therefore the contest was sharp and bloody. The French took six field pieces and two howitzers: they lost on their part 300 men: and general Moreau says, that

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“ the loss of the enemy, many of whom were cut to pieces in their flight, was very great indeed.”

On the afternoon of the 15th, the French repeated their attack on the whole chain of posts from Newstadt to the Rhine, along the Rebach. From two o'clock till eight, the cannonading continued without intermission. The French were at length victorious, and in the night all the German troops retreated with the utmost precipitation. The imperial army passed the Rhine, and the Prussians under Hohenlohe retired towards Gunterstblum by way of Durchein.—Another corps of Prussians took the road of Winweiler towards Mentz. The French are computed to have lost nearly 4000 men in these actions. Keiserslautern was abandoned to the republicans in consequence of these successes.

The army of the Moselle proceeded on the 5th of August in three columns, with a promise to meet at Treves at the same hour on the same day. In their progress, they encountered and forced several posts of the allies. On the 8th, they united according to compact on an immense plain, and immediately surrounded Treves on every side. One of the columns in the afternoon entered the city, which had been hastily evacuated by the German troops. The magistrates met them in their robes at the gates with the keys, congratulated them on their success, and declared they were glad to receive them. The good conduct of this army deserves commendation; and an English writer, speaking of it, observes, “ They had no sooner entered Treves than they established a municipality; they broke in upon no property whatever, and left the different corporations, and all civil and religious institutions as they found them.”

The good effects of that system which succeeded the bloody tyranny of Robespierre were indeed not confined to the territory of France, but were extended in a conspicuous manner to the conquered countries. The rage for extended dominion, which was the passion of Dumouriez, and but too much favoured by the democratic enthusiasm of the Gironde party, was converted under Robespierre into a vast system of plunder and oppression;

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and to this system may be attributed in part the slow progress which was made by the immense armies of the republic. They were invincible in the field, but every town which was capable of defence formed an impediment to their advances. No sooner was this conduct changed on the part of the French, than the Flemish and German cities spontaneously opened their gates, and received the French rather as friends than as conquerors. Such a circumstance ought very forcibly to operate on all who wish for success in war; they may depend upon it, that cruelty and rapacity will counteract the very ends for which they engage in hostility, and, like the armed men of Cadmus, a fruitful crop of enemies will start up in every soil. If we must have war, good policy itself demands that even this abuse of human reason should be rendered as little abhorrent as possible from the principles of humanity.

After these successes, it was not reasonable to expect that the fortresses which had been conquered from the French, insulated as the garrisons were, and deprived of every hope of succour, should long resist. Landrecy was invested by general Scherer, with a division of the army in which were incorporated the national guards and volunteers of the communes of Avesnes, Maubeuge, and the neighbouring territory. The adventurous general, as if to shew his inflexible determination to carry the place without loss of time, opened the first parallel at only 130 toises from the works; and this bold manoeuvre eventually spared the effusion of blood: for the garrison, not apprehending the besiegers to be so near, directed their fire in such a manner, that the shot went 100 toises over the ground on which the workmen were employed. Without firing a gun, the general summoned the town, and at the same time advertised the garrison, that no capitulation would be admitted. As resistance in such circumstances would have been insanity, the garrison surrendered at discretion on the 15th. It consisted of 2000 men; and besides ninety-one guns, which were originally mounted on the fortifications, the
French

French found twenty-six others as an additional security.

Quesnoy followed the fate of Landrecy, and the garrison surrendered at discretion to general Scherer on the 15th of August. It consisted of 3000 men; and a great quantity of arms, ammunition, and provisions was found in the fortress, with 119 Austrian and Dutch cannon.

Valenciennes surrendered upon capitulation on the 26th of the same month. The garrison were made prisoners of war, but were to be conducted to the first post of the Imperial and Dutch armies, on condition that they were not to serve against the republic till regularly exchanged. Considerable stores of every kind, with 200 pieces of cannon, one million pounds of gunpowder, and three millions of florins in specie, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions of livres, were found in Valenciennes; 1000 head of horned cattle, and great quantities of oats and other corn were also included within the fortress. So earnest indeed had the emperor been to retain this important place, that he is said to have expended three millions in repairing and improving the fortifications. What is most to be lamented is, that upwards of 1000 unhappy emigrants were surrendered on this occasion to the vengeance of their enraged countrymen. Surely it would have been wise as well as humane conduct, while the combined powers accepted the services of these unfortunate men in the field, to avoid including them in fortified places, where their inevitable lot, on a surrender, must be death.

The last of these four fortresses which was restored to the French was Condé. Here the allies had formed their dépôt, and the magazines and stores which fell into the possession of the besiegers were immense. It was on the 30th of August, in the midst of the violent altercation respecting the accusation of Billaud Varennes, &c. that this intelligence was communicated to the convention by the telegraph, as the re-capture of Quesnoy and Valenciennes had been before. The communication was made in a few hours after the surrender; and by the telegraph a decree of the convention was trans-

mitted back on the same day, changing the name of Condé to that of *Nord-Libre*.

A corps of 1600 men formed the garrison of Condé, and surrendered prisoners of war. Besides a large quantity of provisions, there were found in the fortrefs 161 pieces of cannon; 6000 muskets, besides those of the garrison; 300,000lbs. of gunpowder; 100,000 bombs, balls, and shells; 1,500,000 cartridges; 600,000lbs. of lead; and 191 waggons of stores, provisions, &c. The fortifications were in the most complete repair, and there were casemates for a much more numerous garrison.

The British army, after their retreat from the vicinity of Antwerp, proceeded to Breda, which it was determined to defend, and a Dutch garrison was stationed there for that purpose. The right column of the English marched through Breda on the 4th of August, while the left went round it. They then took a position which had been previously marked out for them about four miles distant from the town. In this station they continued some days at the particular request of the prince of Orange, while he was occupied in putting Breda in a respectable state of defence. The British army at this time amounted to 25,000 men.

From Breda the British retreated about the latter end of August towards Bois-le-Duc, with little molestation, except a slight skirmish with an advanced party of the French. A Dutch garrison of 7000 men was also left in this fortrefs. In the beginning of September, the British troops were alarmed by the approach of a body of French, under general Pichegru, which the duke of York supposed could not be less in number than 80,000. The posts on the Dommel, and the village of Buxtell, were attacked and forced on the 14th by the advanced guard of the republicans. The duke therefore considered his situation as no longer safe, and on the 16th of September crossed the Meuse, and took a position, which had been previously reconnoitred, about three miles from Grave. The loss of the British *only* in the attack on the posts behind the Dommel, and at Buxtell, was 91 in killed, wounded, and missing. Of the Hessians, who suffered

suffered most in this engagement, we have no return. The Dutch account states the whole loss of the allies at 2000 men; and adds, that by the retreat of the duke of York an opening was left between Breda and Bois-le-Duc, by which an enemy less daring than the French might penetrate into Holland, by passing the Meuse near Bommel. The French account states that they took 2000 prisoners and eight pieces of cannon in the action at Boxtell.

The emperor appeared at this crisis completely weary of the war. On evacuating the Netherlands, the prince of Cobourg issued a proclamation to the Germanic circles, exhorting them to make one desperate effort in defence of what he is pleased to term *Germanic liberty*. The *inexhaustible resources of France*; its innumerable cohorts; the inactivity of a blinded people (the Belgians), who would not listen "to the paternal voice of their good prince;" and the secret practices of some of their ambitious representatives, he says, are the causes which have forced the Imperial armies to retreat. He concludes by informing them, that if, like the "inhabitants of the Belgic provinces," they should suffer themselves to be misled by secret seducers, he and his army would be obliged to pass the Rhine, and leave them a prey to their enemies, and withdraw from them, without ceremony, whatever the enemy might find among them for subsistence. This singular half-expostulatory and half-threatening manifesto was without effect. The stadtholder issued a proclamation nearly about the same time; in which after enumerating the immense resources of France, he observes, that "such an enemy cannot be opposed by *scanty contributions*; the force that must be opposed to them requires the *greatest efforts*." This proclamation also was without effect.

On the 17th of August the emperor presented a memorial to the circle of the upper Rhine, presaging the most fatal consequences, unless the most prompt and efficacious measures should be adopted. He states his own resources as being utterly unequal to the contest. He speaks with some degree of feeling respecting the
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A corps of 1600 men formed the garrison of Condé, and surrendered prisoners of war. Besides a large quantity of provisions, there were found in the fortress 161 pieces of cannon; 6000 muskets, besides those of the garrison; 300,000 lbs. of gunpowder; 100,000 bombs, balls, and shells; 1,500,000 cartridges; 600,000 lbs. of lead; and 191 waggons of stores, provisions, &c. The fortifications were in the most complete repair, and there were casemates for a much more numerous garrison.

The British army, after their retreat from the vicinity of Antwerp, proceeded to Breda, which it was determined to defend, and a Dutch garrison was stationed there for that purpose. The right column of the English marched through Breda on the 4th of August, while the left went round it. They then took a position which had been previously marked out for them about four miles distant from the town. In this station they continued some days at the particular request of the prince of Orange, while he was occupied in putting Breda in a respectable state of defence. The British army at this time amounted to 25,000 men.

From Breda the British retreated about the latter end of August towards Bois-le-Duc, with little molestation, except a slight skirmish with an advanced party of the French. A Dutch garrison of 7000 men was also left in this fortress. In the beginning of September, the British troops were alarmed by the approach of a body of French, under general Pichegru, which the duke of York supposed could not be less in number than 80,000. The posts on the Dommel, and the village of Boxtell, were attacked and forced on the 14th by the advanced guard of the republicans. The duke therefore considered his situation as no longer safe, and on the 16th of September crossed the Meuse, and took a position, which had been previously reconnoitred, about three miles from Grave. The loss of the British *only* in the attack on the posts behind the Dommel, and at Boxtell, was 91 in killed, wounded, and missing. Of the Hessians, who
suffered

suffered most in this engagement, we have no return. The Dutch account states the whole loss of the allies at 2000 men; and adds, that by the retreat of the duke of York an opening was left between Breda and Bois-le-Duc, by which an enemy less daring than the French might penetrate into Holland, by passing the Meuse near Bommel. The French account states that they took 2000 prisoners and eight pieces of cannon in the action at Boxtell.

The emperor appeared at this crisis completely weary of the war. On evacuating the Netherlands, the prince of Cobourg issued a proclamation to the Germanic circles, exhorting them to make one desperate effort in defence of what he is pleased to term *Germanic liberty*. The *inexhaustible resources of France*; its innumerable cohorts; the inactivity of a blinded people (the Belgians), who would not listen "to the paternal voice of their good prince;" and the secret practices of some of their ambitious representatives, he says, are the causes which have forced the Imperial armies to retreat. He concludes by informing them, that if, like the "inhabitants of the Belgic provinces," they should suffer themselves to be misled by secret seducers, he and his army would be obliged to pass the Rhine, and leave them a prey to their enemies, and withdraw from them, without ceremony, whatever the enemy might find among them for subsistence. This singular half-expostulatory and half-threatening manifesto was without effect. The stadtholder issued a proclamation nearly about the same time; in which after enumerating the immense resources of France, he observes, that "such an enemy cannot be opposed by *scanty contributions*; the force that must be opposed to them requires the *greatest efforts*." This proclamation also was without effect.

On the 17th of August the emperor presented a memorial to the circle of the upper Rhine, presaging the most fatal consequences, unless the most prompt and efficacious measures should be adopted. He states his own resources as being utterly unequal to the contest. He speaks with some degree of feeling respecting the
king

king of Prussia having received a large subsidy from England, and yet having never brought his troops to act. He says, that the progress of the French is so rapid, and their army so formidable, that he must be inevitably obliged to withdraw his troops, and station them for the defence of his own frontiers, unless the *empire* should think proper to oppose to the irruption of the French an adequate force. He reminds the spiritual and temporal communities, that "they are possessed of *treasures which are still untouched*, but which might be beneficially applied:" and he concludes by a most solemn assurance, "that if the Imperial and royal court is abandoned at this important crisis, it will not be able to save the empire."

It is something extraordinary, that while the Germanic circles, who were "possessed of treasures still untouched," remained perfectly insensible to these exhortations of their chief, the British cabinet should conceive itself more deeply interested in protracting the war, than those whose dominions were immediately threatened. With that singular kind of generosity, however, which has characterised Mr. Pitt's administration, earl Spencer, and the honourable Thomas Grenville, were despatched to Vienna, in the utmost consternation lest the emperor should follow the example of Prussia, and prudently withdraw from the combination; and humbly to intreat that his Imperial majesty would condescend to accept a part of that treasure which had been so liberally offered to other princes. It is believed that many difficulties attended this mission of the British negotiators. The oldest and wisest counsellors of his Imperial majesty were impressed with the necessity of giving peace to his dominions; and the leading members of the German diet were avowedly averse to the continuance of a war, from which they could derive no benefit, and by which they might incur irreparable loss. How far it is consistent with true policy, in "this sea-girt isle," which can be in no danger from invasion while its invincible navy covers the ocean, to exhaust its resources in paying the continental powers for fighting their own battles, the
event

event must determine. All that we can at present say is, that the mission of the English ambassadors *extraordinary* was successful; and thus the prediction of Mr. Fox was verified, that the Prussian subsidy would only encourage in other powers a similar rapacity.

In consequence of these arrangements the prince of Saxe Cobourg, the victorious opponent of Dumouriez, was dismissed from his command; and he took leave of the army on the 30th of August in an affectionate and pathetic address, which foreboded but little success to their future enterprises. Various reports were circulated respecting the cause of this dismissal. It was alleged by some that the removal of the prince of Cobourg was an express stipulation of the British cabinet; by others it was asserted, that two persons high in the confidence of the prince had been discovered to be in the pay of the French. To this latter report we cannot affix much credit. The character of the prince of Cobourg is that of an honourable man, and a loyal subject: yet it ought not to surprise us, that any reports relative to the treachery of the Austrians should meet some credit. Their whole conduct was a tissue of inconsistencies, the causes of which no politician, who is furnished with no documents beyond the official details, can possibly unravel. It is an undoubted fact, that the count Mercy Argenteau, the confidential minister and political Mentor of the emperor, who was sent to London on a special mission, and died there in the course of this month, employed as his principal agent M. Bellin, who was private secretary to Mirabeau to the day of his death; and, if we are not mistaken, M. Bellin at this moment is in a confidential situation at the court of Vienna.

After the defeat at Treves, that part of the Imperial army which was under the command of the duke of Saxe-Teschen retreated up the Rhine in order to cover Mentz and Coblenz. This army, at the period of which we are treating, amounted to 94,535 men, of whom about 65,000 were the troops of the empire. The Prussian army added to these makes the whole force of the allies

allies acting on the Rhine in the beginning of September not less than 150,000.

From the latter end of July to the beginning of September the armies of the Sambre and the Meuse do not appear to have been engaged in any very important enterprise; but the rapid advances of general Jourdain afterwards amply compensated for this pause. In the neighbourhood of Liege the Austrians were strongly entrenched. On the right side of the river Aywaille, the banks of which were defended by remarkably steep rocks, a corps of 18,000 men under general Latour occupied two strongly fortified camps. On the 18th the French in four columns attacked the whole line from the Aywaille to Emeux. All the passages were forced with the bayonet, and the camps taken at full charge. The Austrians left 2,000 men dead on the field of battle, and several of their battalions were reduced to 150 men. Seven hundred prisoners, 26 pieces of large cannon, 3 pair of colours, 100 horses, and 40 ammunition wagons, were taken, as well as the general's own carriage, his secretary and papers. The remnant of Latour's army was completely routed and dispersed; and in the night the camp of the Chartreux was hastily abandoned.

The Austrian accounts mention, in addition to these particulars, that the whole left wing of their army was destroyed on this occasion. Three new-raised companies of the legion of the archduke Charles were entirely cut to pieces, or made prisoners. The regiment of Beaulieu lost all its officers and most of its men. The emperor's own regiment of horse was cut to pieces; and Murray's regiment of infantry lost 900 men. Previous to the action, the French launched a balloon with two skilful engineers, who threw down successive notes, describing the situation of the enemy; and to this precaution the Austrians in a great measure ascribe the success of their antagonists.

General Clairfait, who was posted between Liege and Maestricht, was no sooner informed of the defeat of general Latour, than he dispatched 18 battalions to support

port the left wing; and by this reinforcement general Latour was enabled during the night of the 18th to rally the fugitives. On the following day, however, the French attacked him again with their usual impetuosity, and forced him to retreat to Hervé with the loss of all his artillery. The corps de reserve, under general Dalton, which was driven by the French to Aix-la-Chapelle, fled in such confusion from that place to Cologne, that the roads were covered with the fugitive cavalry till the third day. General Clairfait was in consequence obliged to retreat as far as Juliers; and on the 21st the French entered Aix-la-Chapelle.

An action took place in the mean time (on the 20th) between a division of the French army and the rear guard of the Austrians at Clermont, which is chiefly deserving of notice, to shew the discrepancy of official accounts. General Clairfait estimates the loss of the French at 2000, and their own at that of 30 killed and 300 wounded; and, on the contrary, the French commissioner Gillet states the loss of the Austrians at 800, and that of the French at only nine killed, and 12 wounded. It appears from the former account that the French were repulsed.

General Clairfait was not long permitted to enjoy in tranquillity his position near Juliers, which he had taken with his accustomed judgment and military skill. On the 29th, the French advanced from Aix-la-Chapelle, crossed the Roer, and attacked all the Austrian general's extensive posts from Ruremonde to Juliers and Duren.—The conflict lasted the whole of the 29th and 30th of September, and was renewed on the 1st and 2d of October. The battle was fierce and obstinate on both sides. On the 3d however general Clairfait, unable any longer to resist, and having lost at least 10,000 men, took advantage of a fog which rose early in the morning to make a precipitate retreat. In the course of the contest the republican soldiers assaulted the mountain of Merzenich four times successively. The works on the mountain were uncommonly strong, and defended by 24 pounders. Though repulsed in each assault, they returned

turned to the charge with renewed vigour, and at length obtained possession of the mountain. Several Austrian regiments suffered most severely, and three battalions of Hulus were annihilated. The city of Juliers immediately surrendered at discretion. The arsenal was well provided; and 60 pieces of cannon and 50,000 pounds of gunpowder were found there.

The retreat of the Austrian general was made in haste and confusion, and the French pursued so closely that immense numbers were lost in the retreat. The French state them at between four and five thousand, including 700 prisoners, an account probably exaggerated; but the Dutch accounts estimate the whole loss of the allies in the action and the retreat at 13,000 men, a statement which is probably near the truth. General Clairfait made but a short halt at Cologne, and soon after crossed the Rhine. He was pursued by the French to the very banks of the Rhine; and as the rear of the imperial forces crossed the river, they were insulted by the French soldiers calling out to them, and asking if *that was the road to Paris?* An allusion perhaps to the childish gasconade of some young members of the British parliament.

The French entered Cologne on the 6th of October.—“The inhabitants, it is said, pressed upon them with the most unequivocal tokens of joy and admiration.” The magistrates had previously sent four deputies to the French general to deprecate the admission of light troops within the walls; the request was granted, and he entered only at the head of 4000 men. The French conducted themselves here in the most honourable manner. Very few of the inhabitants left the place; the persons and property of all who remained were in the most perfect security; and the secular clergy were permitted the free exercise of their functions.—Such was the change of system after the fall of Robespierre.

Venlo and Nuys submitted in consequence of these victories, and many loaded vessels on the rivers fell into the possession of the conquerors. On the morning of the 7th, fifty French chasseurs entered Bonn, and they were followed

followed on the same evening by 3000 more. The committee of public safety had transmitted to general Jourdain a wish that he would send some troops to Coblenz, which was particularly obnoxious to the French, from its having been the first resort of the emigrants. Before this city the allies had been for two months laboriously erecting very strong redoubts. About the middle of October, the French commander detached general Marceau thither with his division. On the 22d he arrived at Andernach, where he met the enemy's hussars, charged them vigorously, killed several, and took 50 prisoners, with the loss of only three men on his own part. General Marceau arrived on the following day before Coblenz. The redoubts were carried by assault by the infantry, and turned by the cavalry, and the Austrians retreated with precipitation across the Rhine. "This important acquisition did not cost the republic one drop of blood," according to the German gazette of Cologne.

While the armies of the Sambre and the Meuse were making this near approach to Mentz, the army of the Rhine was victoriously advancing to the same point from the other side. On the 17th of October, Frankendal submitted to the republicans; and on the following day they entered in triumph the episcopal city of Worms. The army of the Moselle about the same period took possession of Bingen; and from this time Mentz may be considered as in a state of siege.

General Pichegru, it is said, had demanded from the convention, that they would re-inforce his army to 200,000 men, with which force he pledged himself to subjugate Holland before the close of the campaign. The exertions of that able and indefatigable commander were however not inconsiderable, even previous to his receiving the expected reinforcement. It has been already stated, that after the retreat from Boxtell, the duke of York took a position near Grave. His retreat from the former place, where he occupied a most advantageous position, was attributed to the failure on the part of the Austrians, who had *promised* to strengthen the communi-

cation between the British and their own posts at Waert towards Helmont, and to guard a pass of importance between the morafs of Peel and the Meuse. His royal highness was again compelled to change his position by the Austrians having abandoned the Roer, and leaving his left wing unprotected ; and in the beginning of October, after throwing a regiment into Grave, he encamped under the walls of Nimeguen.

In the mean time the French directed their principal force against Bois-le-Duc ; but previous to the reduction of this place, fort Crevecœur on the Meuse surrendered to Delmas, general of division, Sept. 27. The garrison marched out with the honours of war, and were permitted to retire into the united provinces upon condition of not serving till individually exchanged.

The possession of this fort rendered the French masters of the inundation, and it was always considered as one of the principal keys of Bois-le-Duc. The garrison consisted of 500 men ; and there were found in the fortreiss 29 pieces of cannon, 1000 muskets, and 30,000 pounds of powder.

Bois-le-Duc followed the fate of Crevecœur on the 10th of October, and the event was announced to the convention by the telegraph on the same day. Similar conditions as at the latter place were allowed to the garrison, which consisted of 2,500 men. The republicans took also in this place 146 pieces of cannon, 107 of which were brass ; 130,000 pounds of powder, and 9,000 fufees. After the capture of this place, general Pichegru demanded leave to retire from the command for a short time, in consequence of a cutaneous disease resulting from excessive fatigue. It is remarked in the despatch of the French commissioners, " that it is in the power of few generals to say, what he can, that he commanded during two active campaigns, without being once beaten." The convention acceded to his wish, and appointed as his successor for the time, general Moreau, the conqueror of Ypres, Nieuport, Sluys, and Cadland.

It does not appear, however, that general Pichegru immediately quitted the army after the taking of Bois-le-Duc ;

Duc ; as in a despatch dated from Posthick, October 20th, he mentions the action of the 19th between the Meuse and the Waal as a skirmish. The duke of York's account of this action is more detailed. He says that on the morning of the above day the French attacked the whole of the advanced posts on his right wing in great force ; and that the post on the left of the 37th regiment, which was occupied by a detachment of Rohan hussars, being forced, major Hope, who commanded the 37th was obliged to retreat upon the dyke along the Waal, which he continued for some time without being much annoyed. " Unfortunately, however, (adds his royal highness), a strong body of the enemy's hussars being mistaken for the corps of Rohan, the regiment allowed them to come on unmolested ; when the hussars immediately attacked, and the narrowness of the dyke, which on every other occasion, must have afforded a security to the infantry, in this instance acted against them, as they were driven off it by the enemy's charge." We have not been able to find any authentic return of the loss. It was said that the whole 37th regiment, except the major and about fifty men, was cut to pieces. General Pichegru in his despatch states, that they had taken four pieces of cannon and six hundred prisoners, exclusive of sixty-nine emigrants. He also mentions, that three hundred of the latter had been cut to pieces.

All the prisoners who were taken by the English agreed in the intelligence, that the republicans had brought over on this occasion thirty thousand men ; and the British commander received a report at the same time, that a very considerable body had passed the Meuse between Ruremonde and Venlo, and were advancing on his left flank. Thus circumstanced, his royal highness determined to pass the Waal, and to take up the different cantonments, which had been marked out for the defence of that river, leaving general Walmoden with a corps to cover the town of Nimeguen.

Little of importance passed in this quarter till the beginning of November, except an attack which was made on the 27th of October by the French on the British out-

posts in the front of Nimeguen, which were driven in with some loss, and a new position taken to the left of the town. On the 4th of November, a sortie was made in the night from Nimeguen by orders of count Walmoden, and conducted by major general de Burgh. The troops employed in the sortie were about three thousand British, Hanoverians and Dutch; and their object was to destroy the batteries which were newly erected to annoy the city. By what means the French were informed of this intention is not ascertained; but it is certain they knew of it, and were accordingly prepared. The resistance was proportionably obstinate; and a terrible carnage ensued on both sides. The loss of the French is stated by the duke of York at five hundred; that of the British and Hanoverians (exclusive of the Dutch) at about two hundred and ten. The brave general de Burgh was among the wounded.

This sortie had the effect of checking the operations of the French till the morning of the 6th, when they opened two batteries upon the bridge of boats, and one on the town. The effect of the former, which very easily sunk two of the boats, determined his royal highness to withdraw every thing from the troops posted in the town, beyond what was barely necessary for its defence; and the bridge having been repaired, all the artillery of the reserve, with the British, Hanoverian, and Hessian battalions, marched out in the night, leaving picquets under the command of general de Burgh to the amount of 2,500 men, who with the Dutch forces were judged sufficient to maintain the place till the Austrian movements could be determined.

This partial evacuation was, however, no more than a prelude to the total abandonment of the town, which took place on the following night (the 7th). The British and Hanoverians effected their retreat in tolerable order; but before the Dutch battalions, who covered the retreat, could reach the bridge, they found that it had been with too much precipitation set on fire. They then attempted to pass the great flying bridge; but when they got upon it, it swung round towards the city, either from the ropes
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being cut by the French artillery, or from some error on the part of the troops on the right side of the Waal, who fired in the dark on this bridge, supposing it to be in the possession of the enemy; and the Dutch troops either perished, or were taken prisoners by the French, who had forced their way into Nimeguen.

Philippine on the Scheldt, and Sas-de-gand, both surrendered to different divisions of the French army, under general Michaud, on the 23d of October. Both garrisons were made prisoners of war, but were permitted to retire to Holland, and not to bear arms till exchanged.

The siege of Maestricht was formed by the French soon after the defeat of the Austrian general Latour. On the 22d of September they crossed the Meuse near the town, and blocked it up on the side of Wyk. On the 26th the town was formally summoned by general Kleber, who commanded the besieging army. On the morning of the 28th, a detachment of Austrian cavalry made a sortie, and took one piece of cannon; and on the 6th of October they made a second similar attempt, but were repulsed. The French having begun to break ground and construct batteries on the mountain of St. Peter, under the guns of the fort, a third sortie was attempted on the 9th, which partly succeeded; but in less than two days the batteries were re-established on the mountain of St. Peter, as well as other formidable works on the Limberg over against that mountain. On the 20th the French park of artillery was increased by thirty pieces of heavy cannon. On the 23d, they completed their first parallel, and commenced the second. The town was again summoned on the 30th; and the trumpeter had hardly departed from the gate on his return, when the besiegers began to pour a most dreadful shower of shot and shells from all their works, with which they had surrounded the place. The fire lasted the whole of the night. The atmosphere was filled with balls, bombs, and howitzer shells: scarcely a place of safety was left in the whole circuit of the city: a number of public and private buildings were demolished; and the groans of the wounded inhabitants and soldiers resounded in every quarter. Three days were passed in

this distressing situation ; when the governor, moved by the entreaties of the magistrates and people, entered into a negotiation with general Kleber, and the city capitulated on the 4th of November. The garrison surrendered prisoners of war, not to serve till regularly exchanged. About two hundred of the garrison and inhabitants were killed or wounded during the bombardment ; more than two thousand buildings were either entirely destroyed or greatly damaged : twelve thousand bombs, balls, and shells had been thrown into the town, and some of the first weighed two hundred weight. It was the intention of the French commander to have attempted a general storm on the 4th ; which the garrison, consisting of five thousand six hundred Austrians, two hundred hussars, and fifteen hundred Dutch troops, would probably not have been able to resist.

It will be proper in this place to notice briefly the progress of the French in Spain and Italy, and a remarkable change which took place in the state of affairs in the West Indies.

The army of the eastern Pyrenees, under the command of general Doppet, proceeded from Puycerda on the 14th of June to Campredon ; where, after carrying Tonges and Ribes, the general established his head-quarters on the 17th. He advanced to Ripell on the 21st, where the Spaniards had a manufactory of arms, a large quantity of which the French general added to his military stores. During this time the siege of Bellegarde continued to be closely pressed. A bold attempt was made on the 13th of August, by the count de l'Union for the relief of that place. He had been reinforced by several foreign battalions lately arrived from Africa, whose impetuosity obliged the republicans at first to give way. They however soon rallied, regained the heights from which they had at first been dislodged ; and the Spaniards were completely defeated, leaving two thousand five hundred dead on the field of battle. The French general Mirabel, a brave and active officer, was killed in this action, and the republicans lost besides one hundred and eighty-seven killed, and six hundred wounded.

Bellegarde

Bellegarde being thus deprived of every chance of relief, submitted to general Dugommier on the 20th of the following month. The garrison consisted of six thousand men. On the day after its surrender, the count de l'Union made another spirited attempt to dislodge the French, but was completely repulsed with the loss of six hundred men and four pieces of cannon. It does not appear that the Spanish commander, when he made this attempt, was conscious that the town was in the possession of the republicans.

General Dugommier concluded his career in this quarter by a signal victory which he obtained over the Spaniards and emigrants at Spouilles. The slaughter of the emigrants was dreadful, but one thousand Spaniards and Portuguese obtained quarter by surrendering as prisoners of war. The republicans took a large quantity of cannon, and tents and campequpage for twelve thousand men. The brave general Dugommier was killed by a shell upon the Black Mountain, which he had ascended the better to direct the military operations. His death was severely revenged on the 20th of the same month, when his great opponent the count de l'Union was killed, with three other Spanish generals, near St. Fernando de Figueres. For the defence of this post, the Spaniards had spent six months in erecting from eighty to one hundred batteries mounted with heavy cannon. The force amounted to forty thousand men strongly entrenched; and yet they were put to flight, and the batteries carried by the republicans in the space of three hours. The fort of St. Fernando de Figueres was then attacked, and surrendered on the third day. The garrison amounting to nine thousand one hundred and seven men were made prisoners of war. The French found in the fort one hundred and seventy one pieces of cannon, and five thousand stand of arms; they also took twelve founderies for cannon, and an immense quantity of ammunition, &c. The towns of Ascoita and Aspetea soon after submitted; and in the course of a few days another victory was announced to the convention, in which five hundred prisoners, one
brass

brass cannon (the only one remaining in the possession of the Spaniards) and the military chest were taken.

The army of the western Pyrenees was not less successful. In the latter end of July the redoubt of Mary Louisa, the camp of St Jean de Luz, and the fort of St. Barbe were stormed and carried in one day by the republican general of division Delaforde. Great numbers of the Spaniards were killed, and three hundred and twenty prisoners taken, with seven pieces of cannon, two hundred tents, and great quantities of ammunition and small arms. The villages of Beda and Lessaca were also taken at the same time, in which were abundant granaries for the supply of the army.

These however formed but the prelude to a still greater victory; for on the 1st of August fifteen thousand Spaniards posted near the mountain of Haya fled before a body of six thousand French. By this retreat immense magazines, two thousand muskets, and six stand of colours, two hundred cannon and howitzers, tents for twenty-five thousand men, and two thousand prisoners, among whom were two entire regiments, who grounded their arms, fell into the hands of the conquerors. On the evening of the same day Fontarabia, which guards the entrance of Spain, and which cost the duke of Berwick eight thousand men, was taken almost instantaneously by a detachment of the French army.

On the following day a single division, commanded by general Moncey, seized the port of the Passage. On the 3d St. Sebastian was invested, and capitulated on the succeeding morning. The garrison consisting of two thousand men surrendered prisoners of war. More than one hundred and eighty pieces of brass cannon were taken, with considerable magazines and stores: and after the reduction of these places two Spanish ships, laden with powder and ball, wine and cod-fish, entered the port of the Passage. The same good conduct which was observed by the other armies of France, characterized the measures of the commissioners with that of the western Pyrenees. A proclamation was issued, annexing severe punishments

to any acts of plunder or devastation; and the freedom of religious worship was every where guaranteed.

On the day that general Moncey advanced against St. Sebastian, another division under generals Fregeville and Laborde proceeded against the Spanish posts at Ernani; but disheartened by their repeated defeats, the Spaniards fled on the first approach of the republicans. The French after these victories extended their advanced posts to the gates of Tolosa. In the beginning of September the Spaniards again attempted to rally; and according to the French despatches, six thousand of them were repulsed by an advanced guard of six hundred men. At the same time it is to be remarked, that one hundred and fifty of the Walloon guards deserted to the French; so that the victory is perhaps more to be attributed to the disaffection of the Spanish troops than to the valour of their opponents.

In the beginning of the succeeding month the Spaniards encountered another signal defeat. A line of posts had been established upwards of forty leagues in extent. The French, however, did not wait to be attacked, but assailed these posts in twelve different points at once. The Spaniards were entrenched on the heights and well fortified; but all their entrenchments near Beddaditz, Cubeg Villaneuva, &c. were carried with the bayonet, and the works destroyed which they had laboured upwards of a twelvemonth to erect. It was the intention of the French generals to surround the whole Spanish army: But one of the columns which was to have co-operated arrived a day too late; and the Spaniards, favoured by a thick fog, were enabled to retreat to Sangonnella, with the loss of two thousand five hundred men killed, and an equal number of prisoners.

Amidst these accumulated distresses, it was expected that the cabinet of Spain would be prudent enough to propose a negociation for peace; and at one time it was said that some progress had been made towards this desirable object. An infatuation, however, appears to have possessed that weak and dissipated court. Attempts were made in vain to excite the people to rise in a mass, and considerable efforts were employed to provide resources.

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One measure of this cabinet proves at least their sincerity in the support of the war, since they voluntarily submitted to tax themselves. In the month of September a tax of 25 per cent. was laid, *at the desire of the placemen themselves*, upon all places, salaries and pensions whatever. A large sum was levied at the time on the opulent clergy; and it was determined "that no minister, person or persons of any class or condition whatever should receive *more than one salary*, though they might possess various employments under the government." These self-denying ordinances are truly honourable to the grandees of Spain, who, instead of battenning on the spoils of their country, were the first to bear a part in the public distress.

The experiment of raising the people in a mass was made by the king of Sardinia in Piedmont in the month of July; but in such a manner as justifies fully the king of Prussia's censure of this absurd mode of warfare in a regular government, where the people are not actuated by a strong enthusiasm. Ten thousand of these raw and undisciplined recruits were dispersed by a few French battalions. On the 14th of September the Piedmontese were again defeated with considerable slaughter by the army of the Alps. In the same month a grand plan was formed for attacking the French posts in the vicinity of Genoa, and afterwards, it is said, the city of Genoa itself. The French anticipated this plan, carried the Austrian and Sardinian posts with the bayonet, pursued them to Alexandria and forced them to evacuate Le Caïse with considerable loss. The war on the part of the Austrians and Sardinians was defensive during the following months; and in some inconsiderable attacks they were so fortunate as to repulse the republicans.

After the rapid and brilliant successes of sir Charles Grey and sir John Jervis in the West Indies, the British arms received a check in that quarter before the close of the campaign. The force originally sent out under those gallant commanders was comparatively small, considering the magnitude of the undertaking; and the diseases so fatal to European constitutions in that climate made
dreadful

dreadful havoc among the soldiers in the course of the summer, and greatly reduced their number.

That accomplished officer major general Dundas fell among other victims of this unfriendly climate and died of a fever at Guadaloupe, after a few days illness, early in June. "In him (says sir Charles Grey) his majesty and his country lose one of their best and bravest officers, and a most worthy man. I too feel severely the loss of so able an assistant on this arduous service." This irreparable loss was immediately followed by other disastrous circumstances; for on the 3d of June a French Squadron, consisting of two 50 gun ships, one of 40 armed *en flûte*, one frigate and 5 transports, appeared off the island, and manifested an intention of attacking fort Fleur d'Épée. It appears that colonel Drummond, who commanded there, was at first mistaken with respect to the number of the invaders, whom he supposed not to exceed 300 men. He therefore acceded to the earnest solicitation of the royalists, and despatched a party of them under the command of captain M'Dowal, in the hope of surprising the republicans at the post where they had established themselves near the village of Gozier. On the first fire, however the royalists fled and dispersed, and only a few returned to the fort. On the 5th the French landed thirteen boats crowded with men, and on the following day attacked fort Fleur d'Épée, which they carried by storm; and the English garrison retreated with considerable loss to fort Louis. This post, however, not being considered as tenable, was also evacuated, and colonel Drummond, with the shattered remains of his garrison, retired to Basseterre.

The French commissioner, Victor Hugues, a man of uncommon enterprise and daring courage, and who seems to have acted in a double capacity both political and military, lost no time in making the necessary arrangements both to defend himself in case of an attack by the English fleet, and to reduce the British who remained on the island. Conformably to the famous decree of the convention, he declared the negroes free, and equipped with clothing and with arms a strong body of these, and such of the mulattoes as appeared well affected to the French cause. Sir Charles

Charles Grey, on the other hand, was equally active. He sailed from St. Kitt's with all the troops that he could collect upon a short notice, and landed on the 19th of June at Gadalupe, under cover of the English fleet. Unfortunately the force of the British general was inadequate to a contest with the numerous bands of negroes and mulattoes which Hugues had collected. The gallantry of the British troops procured them a temporary success in some slight skirmishes; but as nothing effectual was done, and the rainy season being already set in, the general determined to make one grand effort for putting an immediate end to the campaign. On the 2d of July, therefore, he despatched brigadier Symes with three battallions of grenadiers and light infantry, and a battalion of seamen, to attack the town of Point-a-Petre before day-light, and to take it by surprize. By accident or design the British troops were misled by the guides, and entered the town in a part where they were most exposed to the fire of the French, and where it was impossible to scale the walls of the fort. After suffering greatly from round and grape shot, as well as by a continued fire from the houses, a retreat became unavoidable, which was made with considerable loss. General Symes was wounded; colonel Gomm, and capt. Robertson of the navy, were both killed, with several other officers, and nearly 600 men were killed, wounded, and missing in this unfortunate attempt*. The British general after this took measures for the defence of Basseterre, and re-embarked the remainder of the troops during the ensuing night.

In giving an account of the campaign in the Netherlands and Holland, before we made a digression to relate the success of the French in Spain and Italy, and the change of affairs in the West Indies, we left the republicans in possession of the important city of Maestricht, and the duke of York retreating across the Waal.

For some time after the soldiers of the Gallic republic had driven the combined forces over the Meuse and the Waal, they are said to have lamented that inactivity which was the necessary effect of long rains and impassable roads; but at length nature, in accord with

* The French accounts say 860.

their wishes, removed the obstacles that stopped their victorious career, and bound up in icy fetters those currents which they had for several days made fruitless attempts to pervade. The forces, under the command of general Pichegru, braved the rigours of the season, and, having taken the isle of Bommel and the lines of Breda, with about 120 pieces of artillery, crossed the Waal on the 10th of January, 1795, in several columns, and attacked the combined forces under general Harcourt. The third column which passed near Nimeguen, in conjunction with other forces which crossed between Thiel and Fodevaart, attacked the whole British line in that quarter, and compelled them to retreat. They forced the Austrians to abandon Heusden and retreat across the Leck, and obliged the Hanoverians, with general Coate's brigade and some Austrians, to fall back upon Lant, which upon their arrival they found occupied by the French, and in consequence retreated across the Lingen. This was the eventful moment, which determined the fate of Holland; the British foldiers, sent as the defenders of the United States, had long been regarded by the factious Dutch as intruders, and the authors of their misfortunes. They were now openly insulted, reviled as the slaves of despots, and even refused the common necessities of life, to alleviate the distresses which resulted from mortal wounds, intense cold, and, in some degree, famine itself. The British commanders in their retreat were under the necessity of leaving several hundreds of their wounded countrymen to the mercy of the conquerors, whose humanity towards them added the brightest lustre to their laurels. The catalogue of the sufferings of the English soldiers, in their retreat from the frozen shores of the Waal to the city of Osnaburgh, form a melancholy tale, which involuntarily excites the wish in every humane breast, that in every war, those who are the authors of it, and most interested in its continuance, should at least partake of its calamities.

After these successful efforts, the French soldiers were cordially received by the inhabitants in general; and in one month every town in the United Provinces accept-

ed, either by force or willingly, the alliance of France, while a large portion of the people appeared to have imbibed from the political creed of the national convention. The patriots, as they called themselves, of Holland, seem to have acted so thoroughly in concert with the French, that the Orange party found new constituted authorities, while they were in doubt whether the French were advanced as far as Utrecht.

On the 19th of January, the patriots of Amsterdam met, and chose provisional representatives; and that day was denominated the first of Batavian liberty. The national colours were displayed on the town-house, and the inhabitants were all decorated with national cockades. The tree of liberty was planted and guarded by a few French hussars. On the following day, general Pichegru entered the city at the head of a body of French troops, who departed themselves with the most commendable order and decorum. The people instantly elected new magistrates, some of whom passed from a prison into office. Amongst the multitude of decrees or publications which the new authorities first promulgated, was the declaration that the stadtholder was deposed from all his employments, and a prohibition against wearing any marks or badges of the house of Orange.

The stadtholder, upon receiving intelligence that the French had crossed the Waal, took immediate measures for his flight, and to secure what property he could. He fortunately effected his escape on board a pink, which was ready to sail on the 19th of January, and, after some difficulty, arrived in England, where, through the munificence and commiseration naturally excited on such an occasion in the bosom of his Britannic majesty, he found an asylum for himself and family in the palace of Hampton Court.

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APPENDIX TO VOL. V.

Note sent by M. Chauvelin, minister plenipotentiary from his most christian majesty, to lord Grenville, one of his Britannic majesty's principal secretaries of state. Dec. 17, 1792.

THE undersigned minister plenipotentiary of France has the honour to communicate to lord Grenville the instructions which he has received from the executive council of the French republic, with orders to lay them before his Britannic majesty's secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs, in case he should think that he could not speedily enough obtain an interview with the minister.

The French government, by continuing, since the recall of lord Gower from Paris, to leave at London a minister plenipotentiary, thought they gave to his Britannic majesty an unequivocal proof of the desire they had to remain in good understanding with the British court, and to see all those clouds dissipated, to which events, necessary and inseparable from the internal government of France, seemed then to have given birth. The intentions of the executive council of France toward England have never ceased to be the same, but they cannot see with indifference the public conduct which the British ministry observe at present toward France. It is much to be regretted, that they have perceived in this conduct an indispotion which they still force themselves not to believe. They think it a duty, however, which they owe to the French nation, not to leave it much longer in that state of uncertainty into which it has been thrown by several measures lately adopted by the British government—an uncertainty in which the English nation must share, and which must be equally unworthy of both. The executive council of the French republic have consequently authorized the minister of France at London to demand with openness of the ministers of his Britannic majesty,

whether France ought to consider England as a neutral or hostile power, and have particularly charged him to obtain on this point a definitive answer. But in demanding from the ministers of his Britannic majesty an open and candid explanation of their intentions toward France, the executive council do not wish that the smallest doubt should exist respecting the disposition of France toward England, and of its desire to remain at peace with it. They even wish to answer previously to all those reproaches which may be thrown out against France, in order to justify England. Reflecting on the reasons which might determine his Britannic majesty to break with the French republic, the executive council can see them only in a false interpretation, given perhaps to the decree of the national convention of Nov. 19. If the British ministry are really alarmed by that decree, it can only be for want of comprehending the true meaning of it. The national convention never intended that the French republic should favour insurrections, and espouse the cause of a few seditious persons, or, in a word, that it should endeavour to excite disturbance in any neutral or friendly country whatever. Such an idea would be rejected by the French nation. It cannot without injustice be imputed to the national convention. This decree then is applicable only to those people, who after having conquered their liberty, may request the fraternity and assistance of the French republic, by a solemn and unequivocal expression of the general will. France not only ought and wishes to respect the independence of England; but that also of its allies, with whom it was not at war. The undersigned therefore has been charged to declare formally, that France will not attack Holland while that power confines itself, on its part, within the bounds of strict neutrality. The British government being thus assured respecting the two points, no pretence for the least difficulty can remain, but on the question of opening the Scheld—a question irrevocably decided by reason and justice, of little importance in itself, and on which the opinion of England, and perhaps even of Holland, are too well known, to render it difficult to make it seriously the sole

sole cause of a war. Should the British ministry, however, embrace this last motive to induce them to declare war against France, would it not then be probable that their private intention was to bring about a rupture at any rate, and to take the advantage at present of the most futile of all pretences, to colour an unjust aggression, long ago meditated?

On this fatal supposition, which the executive council rejects, the undersigned would be authorized to support with energy the dignity of the French people, and to declare with firmness that a free and powerful nation will accept war, and repel with indignation an aggression so manifestly unjust, and so unprovoked on their part. When all these explanations, necessary to demonstrate the purity of the intentions of France, and when all peaceful and conciliatory measures shall have been exhausted by the French nation, it is evident that the whole weight, and the whole responsibility of the war, will sooner or later fall upon those who have provoked it. Such a war would really be the war of the British ministry only against the French republic; and should this truth appear for a moment doubtful, it would not perhaps be impossible for France to render it soon evident to a nation, which in giving its confidence, never renounced the exercise of reason, and its respect for justice and truth.

Such are the instructions which the undersigned has received orders to communicate officially to lord Grenville, inviting him, as well as all the council of his Britannic majesty, to weigh with the most serious attention, the deliberations and demands which they contain. It is evident that the French nation desires to preserve peace with England. It proves this, by endeavouring with candour and openness to remove every suspicion which so many passions and various prejudices are continually labouring to excite against it; but the more it shall have done to convince all Europe of the purity of its views, and the rectitude of its intentions, the greater right it will have to a claim of being no longer misunderstood.

The undersigned has orders to demand a written answer to the present note; he hopes that the ministers of
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his Britannic majesty will be induced, by the explanations which it contains, to adopt ideas favourable to a good understanding between the two nations; and will have no occasion, in order to return to them, to consider the terrible responsibility of a declaration of war, which would incontestably be their work; the consequences of which could be only fatal to both countries, and to all mankind, and in which a generous and free people could not long consent to betray their own interests, by serving to assist and support a tyrannical coalition.

(Signed)

Chauvelin.

Lord Grenville's Answer to the preceding note.

Sir,

Whitehall, Dec. 31, 1792.

I have received from you a note, in which, styling yourself minister plenipotentiary of France, you communicate to me, as the king's secretary of state, the instructions which you state to have yourself received from the executive council of the French republic. You are not ignorant, that, since the unhappy events of the 10th of August, the king has thought proper to suspend all official communication with France. You are yourself no otherwise accredited to the king, than in the name of his most Christian Majesty. The proposition of receiving a minister accredited by any other authority or power in France, would be a new question, which, whenever it should occur, the king would have the right to decide according to the interest of his subjects, his own dignity, and the regard which he owes to his allies, and to the general system of Europe. I am therefore to inform you sir, in express and formal terms, that I acknowledge you in no other public character than that of minister from his most Christian majesty, and that consequently you cannot be admitted to treat with the king's ministers in the quality, and under the form stated in your note.

But observing that you have entered into explanations of some of the circumstances which have given to England such strong grounds of uneasiness and jealousy, and that you speak of these explanations as being of a nature to bring our two countries nearer, I have been unwilling

to convey to you the notification stated above, without at the same time explaining myself clearly and distinctly on the subject of what you have communicated to me, though under a form which is neither regular nor official.

Your explanations are confined to three points :

The first is, that of the decree of the national convention of the 19th of November, in the expressions of which all England saw the formal declaration of a design to extend universally the new principles of government adopted in France, and to encourage disorder and revolt in all countries, even in those which are neutral. If this interpretation, which you represent as injurious to the convention, could admit of any doubt, it is but too well justified by the conduct of the convention itself. And the application of these principles to the king's dominions has been shewn unequivocally, by the public reception given to the promoters of sedition in this country, and by the speeches made to them precisely at the time of this decree, and since, on several different occasions.

Yet, notwithstanding all these proofs, supported by other circumstances which are but too notorious, it would have been with pleasure that we should have seen here such explanations, and such conduct, as would have satisfied the dignity and honour of England, with respect to what has already passed, and would have offered a sufficient security in future for the maintenance of that respect toward the rights, the government, and the tranquillity of neutral powers, which they have on every account the right to expect.

Neither this satisfaction, nor this security is found in the terms of an explanation which still declares to the promoters of sedition in every country, what are the cases in which they may count beforehand on the support and succour of France : and which reserves to that country the right of mixing herself in our internal affairs, whenever she shall judge it proper ; and on principles incompatible with the political institutions of all the countries of Europe. No one can avoid perceiving how much a declaration like this is calculated to encourage disorder and revolt in every country. No one can be ignorant
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how contrary it is to the respect which is reciprocally due from independent nations, nor how repugnant to those principles which the king has followed, on his part, by forbearing at all times from any interference whatever in the internal affairs of France. And this contrast is alone sufficient to shew, not only that England cannot consider such an explanation as satisfactory, but that she must look upon it as a fresh avowal of those dispositions which she sees with so just an uneasiness and jealousy.

I proceed to the two other points of your explanation, which concern the general dispositions of France with regard to the allies of Great Britain, and the conduct of the convention and its officers relative to the Scheld. The declaration which you there make, 'that France will not attack Holland so long as that power shall observe an exact neutrality,' is conceived nearly in the same terms with that which you were charged to make in the name of his most Christian majesty in the month of June last. Since that first declaration was made, an officer, stating himself to be employed in the service of France, has openly violated both the territory and the neutrality of the republic, in going up the Scheld, to attack the citadel of Antwerp, notwithstanding the determination of the government not to grant this passage, and the formal protest by which they opposed it. Since the same declaration was made, the convention has thought itself authorized to annul the rights of the republic exercised within the limits of its own territory, and enjoyed by virtue of the same treaties by which her independence is secured. And at the very moment when, under the name of an amicable explanation, you renew to me in the same terms the promise of respecting the independence and the rights of England and her allies, you announce to me, that those in whose name you speak, intend to maintain these open and injurious aggressions.

It is not, certainly, on such a declaration as this, that any reliance can be placed for the continuance of public tranquillity.

But I am unwilling to leave without a more particular reply, what you say on the subject of the Scheld. If it
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were true that this question is in itself of little importance, this would only serve to prove more clearly, that it was brought forward only for the purpose of insulting the allies of England, by the infraction of their neutrality, and by the violation of their rights which the faith of treaties obliges us to maintain. But you cannot be ignorant that here the utmost importance is attached to those principles which France wishes to establish by this proceeding, and to those consequences which would naturally result from them: and that not only those principles, and those consequences, will never be admitted by England, but that she is, and ever will be, ready to oppose them with all her force.

France can have no right to annul the stipulations relative to the Scheld, unless she have also the right to set aside equally all the other treaties between all the powers of Europe, and all the other rights of England, or of her allies. She can even have no pretence to interfere in the question of opening the Scheld, unless she were the sovereign of the Low Countries, or had the right to dictate laws to all Europe.

England never will consent that France shall arrogate the power of annulling at her pleasure, and under pretence of a pretended natural right, of which she makes herself the only judge, the political system of Europe, established by solemn treaties, and guaranteed by the consent of all the powers. This government, adhering to the maxims which it has followed for more than a century, will also never see with indifference that France shall make herself, either directly or indirectly sovereign of the Low Countries, or general arbitress of the rights and liberties of Europe. If France is really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, she must shew herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandizement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights.

With respect to that character of ill-will which is endeavoured to be found in the conduct of England toward France, I cannot discuss it, because you speak of it in general

neral terms only, without alleging a single fact. All Europe has seen the justice and the generosity which have characterized the conduct of the king : his majesty has always been desirous of peace : he desires it still, but such as may be real, and solid, and consistent with the interests and dignity of his own dominions, and with the general security of Europe.

On the rest of your paper I say nothing.—As to what relates to me and to my colleagues, the king's ministers owe to his majesty the account of their conduct : and I have no answer to give to you on this subject, any more than on that of the appeal which you propose to make to the English nation. This nation according to that constitution by which its liberty and its prosperity are secured, and which it will always be able to defend against every attack, direct or indirect, will never have with foreign powers connection or correspondence, except through the organ of its king : of a king whom it loves and reveres, and who has never for an instant separated his rights, his interests, and his happiness, from the rights, the interests, and the happiness of his people.

(Signed)

Grenville.

Official note of the Executive Power of France, in reply to the preceding.

Paris, Jan. 4, 1793; 2nd year of the republic.

The provisional executive council of the French republic, before they reply more particularly to each of the points comprehended in the note remitted to them on the part of the minister of his Britannic majesty, will begin by repeating to that minister the most express assurances of their sincere desire to maintain peace and harmony between France and England. The sentiments of the French nation toward the English have been manifested during the whole course of the revolution, in so constant, so unanimous a manner, that there cannot remain the smallest doubt of the esteem which it vows to them, and of its desire to have them for friends.

It is then with great reluctance, that the republic would see itself forced to a rupture, much more contrary to

to its inclinations than to its interest. Before it proceeds to such a disagreeable extremity, explanations are necessary; and the object of them is so highly important, that the executive council have not thought that they could entrust them to a secret agent, always to be disavowed. For this reason they have thought proper, under every point of view, to entrust them to citizen Chauvelin, though he is not accredited to his Britannic majesty but from the late king.

The opinion of the executive council on this occasion is justified by the manner in which our negotiations are at the same time carried on in Spain, where citizen Bourgoign was exactly in the same situation as citizen Chauvelin at London; which, however, has not prevented the minister of the Catholic king from treating with him on a convention of neutrality, the ratification of which is to be exchanged at Paris between the minister for foreign affairs and the chargé des affaires of Spain. We will even add, that the principal minister of his Catholic majesty, when writing officially on this subject to citizen Burgoign, did not forget to give him his title of minister plenipotentiary of France. The example of a power of the first rank, such as Spain, might have induced the executive council to hope that we should have found the same facility at London. The executive council, however, readily acknowledge that this negotiation has not been demanded according to diplomatic strictness, and that citizen Chauvelin is not formally enough authorized. To remove entirely this obstacle, and that they may not have to reproach themselves with having stopt, by a simple defect in form, a negotiation on the success of which depends the tranquility of two great nations, they have sent to citizen Chauvelin credential letters, which will give him the means of treating according to all the severity of diplomatic forms. To proceed now to the three points which can alone form an object of difficulty with the court of London, the executive council observe on the first, that is to say, the decree of November 19, that we have been misunderstood by the ministers of his Britannic majesty, when they accuse us of having given an
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explanation, which announces to *the seditious of all nations*, what are the cases in which they may depend beforehand, on the succour and support of France. Nothing can be more foreign to the sentiments of the national convention, and to this explanation which we have given, than this reproach; and we did not think it was possible that the open design of favouring seditious persons could be imputed to us, at a moment even when we declared, 'that it would be doing an injury to the national convention to ascribe to them the plan of protecting insurrections and seditious commotions, which might arise in any state: of associating with the authors of them; and thus of making the cause of a few individuals that of the French nation.'

We have said, and we choose to repeat it, that the decree of November 19, could not be applicable, but to the single case where the general will of a nation, clearly and unequivocally expressed, should call for the assistance and fraternity of the French nation. Sedition can certainly never exist, when there is an expression of the general will; these two ideas mutually exclude each other; for sedition is and can only be a commotion of a small number against the majority of a nation; and this commotion would cease to be seditious, if all the members of a society should arise at once, either to correct a government, to change its form entirely, or to accomplish any other object.

The Dutch were certainly not seditious when they formed the generous resolution of throwing off the Spanish yoke, and when the general will of that nation called on the assistance of France. It was not accounted a crime to Henry IV. nor to queen Elizabeth, that they listened to them. A knowledge of the general will is the only basis of transactions between nations; and we cannot treat with any government but because that government is supposed to be the organ of the general will of the nation to which it belongs. When by this natural interpretation, therefore, the decree of November 19th is reduced to its real signification, it will be found that it announces nothing more than an act of the general will
above

above all contest, and so founded in right, that it was not worth while to express it. For this reason, the executive council think that the evidence of this right might have perhaps rendered it unnecessary for the national convention to make it the object of a particular decree; but with the preceding interpretation it cannot give offence to any nation.

It appears that the ministers of his Britannic majesty have made no objections under the declaration respecting Holland; since their only observation on this subject relates to the discussion concerning the Scheld, it is on this last point, therefore, that we have to make ourselves understood.

We here repeat that this question itself is of little importance. The British minister's thence conclude, that it is therefore more evident that it has been brought forward for the purpose of insulting the allies of England. We reply with much less warmth and prejudice, that this question is absolutely indifferent to England, that it is little interesting to Holland, but that it is of the utmost importance to the Belgians. That it is indifferent to England, does not even require to be proved. It is little interesting to Holland, since the productions of the Belgic Netherlands can be conveyed through the canals which end at Ostend; but it is of great importance for the Belgians, on account of the numerous advantages which they may derive from the port of Antwerp. It is therefore on account of this importance, to restore to the Belgians the enjoyment of a valuable right, and not to offend any one, that France has declared that it is ready to support them in the exercise of so legal a right.

But is France authorized to break stipulations which oppose the opening of the Scheld? If we consult the right of nature, and not of nations, not only France, but all the nations of Europe are authorized to break them. No doubt can remain on this point.

If public right is consulted, we say that it ought never to be but the application of the principles of the general right of nations to the particular circumstances in which nations may be in respect to each other; so that every

private treaty which might violate these principles, could never be considered but as the work of violence. We will next add, that in regard to the Scheld, the treaty was concluded without the participation of the Belgians. The emperor, to secure the possession of the Netherlands, sacrificed, without scruple, the most inviolable of rights, being master of these beautiful provinces, he governed them, as Europe has seen, with absolute despotism, respected none of their privileges but those which were of importance for him to preserve, and continually attacked or destroyed the rest. France entering into a war with the house of Austria, expels it from the Low Countries, and restores liberty to those people whom the court of Vienna had devoted to slavery. Their chains are broken: they are restored to all those rights which the house of Austria had taken from them. How can that right which they had over the Scheid be excepted, especially when it is of real importance only to those who were deprived of it? In short, France has too good a profession of political faith to make, to be afraid of avowing its principles. The executive council declares then, not that it may appear to yield to some expressions of threatening language, but only to render homage to truth, that the French republic does not mean to establish itself an universal arbiter of the treaties which bind nations together. It equally knows to respect other governments, and to take care that it may make its own respected. It does not wish to give law to any one, and it will never suffer any one to give laws to it. It has renounced, and still renounces all conquest: and its occupying the Netherlands will continue no longer than the war, and during that time, which may be necessary for the Belgians to secure and consolidate their liberty; after which, provided they be independent or happy, France will be sufficiently rewarded.

When that nation shall find itself in full possession of its liberty, and when its general will may be declared legally and unfettered, then if England and Holland still affix any importance to the opening of the Scheld, the executive council will leave that affair to a direct negotiation

ation with the Belgians. If the Belgians, through any motive whatever, shall consent to deprive themselves of the navigation of the Scheld, France will not oppose it. It will respect their independence, even in their errors.

After so free a declaration, which manifests the present designs of peace, the ministers of his Britannic majesty ought to entertain no doubt respecting the intentions of France. But if these explanations appear to them insufficient, and if we are still obliged to hear the language of haughtiness, and if hostile preparations are continued in the ports of England, after having done every thing in our power to maintain peace, we will prepare for war, conscious at least of the justice of our cause, and of the efforts we have made to avoid that extremity. We shall combat with regret the English, whom we esteem, but we shall combat them without fear.

(Signed)

Le Brun.

Letter from lord Grenville to M. Chauvelin, in answer to the explanations of the provisional executive council, Jan 20.

Whitehall, Jan. 18, 1793.

I have examined, sir, with the utmost attention, the paper you remitted to me on the 13th of this month. I cannot help remarking, that I have found nothing satisfactory in the result of it. The explanations which it contains are nearly reduced to the same points which I have already replied to at length. The declaration of wishing to intermeddle with the affairs of other countries, is therein renewed. No denial is made, nor reparation offered, for the outrageous proceedings I stated to you in my letter of December 31st; and the right of infringing treaties, and violating the rights of our allies, is still maintained, by solely offering an illusory negotiation upon this subject, which is put off, as well as the evacuation of the Low Countries by the French armies, to the indefinite term, not only of the conclusion of the war, but likewise of the consolidation of what is called the Liberty of the Belgians.

It is added, that if these explanations appear insuffi-

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ent to us ; if you should be again obliged to hear a haughty tone of language ; if hostile preparations should continue in the ports of England—after having tried every effort to preserve peace, you will then make dispositions for war.

If this notification, or that relative to the treaty of commerce, had been made to me under a regular and official form, I should have found myself under the necessity of replying to it, that to threaten Great Britain with a declaration of war because she judged it expedient to augment her forces, and also to declare that a solemn treaty should be broken, because England adopted for her own safety such precautions as already exist in France, would only be considered, both the one and the other, as new grounds of offence, which as long as they should subsist, would prove a bar to every kind of negotiation.

Under this form of extra-official communication, I think I may yet be permitted to tell you, not in a tone of haughtiness but of firmness, that these explanations are not considered sufficient, and that all the motives which gave rise to the preparations still continue. These motives are already known to you by my letter of December 31st, in which I marked in precise terms what those dispositions were, which could alone maintain peace and a good understanding. I do not see that it can be useful to the object of conciliation to enter into a discussion with you on separate points under the present circumstances, as I have already acquainted you with my opinion concerning them. If you have any explanations to give me under the same extra-official form, which will embrace all the objects contained in my letter of the 31st December, as well as all the points which relate to the present crisis with England, her allies, and the general system of Europe, I shall willingly attend to them.

I think it, however, my duty to inform you in the most positive terms, in answer to what you tell me on the subject of our preparations, that under the present circumstances all those measures will be continued, which may be judged necessary to place us in a state of protecting the safety, tranquillity, and the rights of this country,

try, as well as to guarantee those of our allies; and to set up a barrier to those views of ambition and aggrandizement, dangerous at all times to the rest of Europe, but which become still more so, being supported by the propagation of principles destructive of all social order.

(Signed)

Grenville.

Letter from the same to the same, on refusing to receive his letters of credence from the French republic, Jan. 20.

Sir,

I have received your letter of the 17th instant. I have already apprised you that his majesty has reserved to himself the right of deciding according to his judgment upon the two questions of acknowledging a new form of government in France, and of receiving a minister accredited on the part of some other authority in France than that of his most Christian majesty. In answer to the demand you now make, whether his majesty will receive your new letters of credence, I have to inform you, that under the present circumstances, his majesty does not think proper to receive them.

The request you make of me is equally incompatible with the form of an extra-official communication, and that character in which you have hitherto been known as minister of his most christian majesty.

Nothing then remains for me to say relative to the subject of your former letter, particularly after what has just happened to France, than to inform you, that as an agent charged with a confidential communication, you ought certainly to have attended to the necessary measures taken by us, to secure your letters and couriers; that as minister of his most christian majesty you would have enjoyed all those exemptions which the law affords to public ministers, properly acknowledged as such; but that as an individual, you can only be considered among the general mass of foreigners resident in England.

(Signed)

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(Signed)

Grenville.

Letter

Letter from the same to the same, ordering his immediate departure from the realm, Jan. 24.

I am charged to notify to you, sir, that the character with which you had been invested at this court, and the functions of which have been so long suspended, being now entirely terminated by the fatal death of his most Christian majesty, you have no longer any public character here.

The king can no longer after such an event, permit your residence here. His majesty has thought fit to order that you should retire from this kingdom within the term of eight days; and I herewith transmit to you a copy of the order which his majesty in his privy council has given to this effect.

I send you a passport for yourself and your suite: and I shall not fail to take all the other necessary steps, in order that you may return to France with all the attentions which are due to the character of minister plenipotentiary from his most Christian majesty, which you have exercised at this court.

(Signed)

Grenville.

Message from his majesty to the house of commons, Jan. 28.
George R.

His majesty has given directions for laying before the house of commons, copies of several papers which have been received from Mr. Chauvelin, late minister plenipotentiary from the most Christian king, by his majesty's secretary of state for foreign affairs, and of the answers returned thereto; and likewise the copy of an order made by his majesty in council, and transmitted by his majesty's commands to the said Mr. Chauvelin, in consequence of the accounts of the atrocious act recently perpetrated at Paris.

In the present situation of affairs, his majesty thinks it indispensable necessary to make a further augmentation of his forces by sea and land; and relies on the known affection and zeal of the house of commons to enable his majesty to take the most effectual measures, in the present important conjuncture, for maintaining the security and rights

rights of his own dominions ; for supporting his allies ; and for opposing views of aggrandizement and ambition on the part of France, which would be at all times dangerous to the general interests of Europe ; but are peculiarly so, when connected with the propagation of principles which lead to the violation of the most sacred duties, and are utterly subversive of the peace and order of all civil society.

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